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LIFE OF GOETHE



LIFE OF GOETHE

BY HEINRICH DÜNTZER

TRANSLATED BY

THOMAS W. LYSTER

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VOL. II.—1786-1832

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BOOK V.

ITALY

SEPTEMBER 1786—JUNE 1788

THE LIFE OF GOETHE

CHAPTER I.

THE JOURNEY SOUTHWARD—VENICE—ROME.

IPHIGENIE.

SEPTEMBER 1786—FEBRUARY 1787.

SOUTHWARD through Bavaria and the Tyrol he hastened, the goal of his longing ever present to his soul. The country and the people he surveyed as he passed with clear, free glance. He finds his speculations on rock-formation confirmed;¹ as to the classification of plants he sees what a mere beginner he is;² he has too long disused looking at pictures, and his eyes need to train anew.³

In Innsbruck he loads himself with specimens of rock. On the Brenner Pass he takes *Iphigenie* from the packet of his writings, and he completes (September 9) the first portion of that *Diary* of his journey which he means to send to Charlotte von Stein. In Roveredo (September 11) he is glad at hearing the dear Italian tongue. At Torbole at the head of Garda Lake, as the strong south wind drove the waves on the

¹ *Die Italiänische Reise*, Mittenwald, September 7, 1786:—"Hier wird uns die Arbeit der Strömungen des alten Meeres fasslich."—TR.

² *Ibid.*, Padua, September 27, 1786.—TR.

³ *Ibid.*, München, September 6, 1786.—TR.

beach, he moulded anew the first soliloquy of his priestess yearning on the Tauric shore for her distant home.¹ In Verona (September 14-19) he gave most of his time to the Roman amphitheatre. While at Verona he wrote short letters—to the Duke, to Charlotte, to Herder, and to Voigt. The letter to Voigt was concerned with the affairs of the Ilmenau Mines. In none of these letters did he betray where he was. In Vicenza, the birthplace of Palladio, whose art is there displayed in so many of his most celebrated buildings, Goethe stayed a week (September 19-26). He admired Palladio's deep judgment in art, his noble simplicity, his unaffected earnestness, and contrasted this seriousness with the extravagance of modern style. The beauty of the position of Vicenza impressed him; this city, it will be remembered, is the home of Mignon in *Wilhelm Meister*.

In the Botanic Gardens at Padua a fan-palm gives the clearest notion of the series of the metamorphoses of the plant. He induces the gardener to cut for him a set of leaves, from original simple leaf to flower, and these he carried like a fetish with him, between pasteboards. Amid the multitude of new flowers the conception of the development of all plant-forms from *one* grew more and more vivid.²

The charm of Venice detained him three weeks (September 28—October 14), during which he gained a clear and full impression. He thought with deep emotion of his father, who would so gladly and lovingly talk of the days he had spent long ago in the wonderful sea-girt city. The popular Italian comedy gave him pleasure, but the tragedy and opera left him cold. The whole tragic stage seemed empty because the acting

¹ This Goethe tells, *Die Italiänische Reise*, Rome, January 6, 1787. Strehlke calls attention to the lines:—

“ Und gegen meine Seufzer bringt die Welle
Nur dumpfe Töne brausend mir herüber.”—TR.

² These details from Goethe's *Geschichte meines botanischen Studiums*. See Hempel's *Goethe*, Theil. xxxiii., S. 70-71.—TR.

was not acting—because it sought to produce effect, not through being the artistic imitation of action and passion, but by the very things said and done before the audience. A collection of casts from the antique carried him back to those old glorious days; he feels how deficient he is in knowledge, but he will go forwards, at least he knows the way. A bit of the entablature of the temple of Antoninus and Faustina in Rome reminds him of the capital of the Pantheon, seen fifteen years ago in Mannheim;¹ he thanks God that he is now delivered from the “Gothic pipe-shank columns, sharp little towers, flower-tracery.” *Iphigenie*, which he had pushed on with continually, he leaves aside during the last week of his stay in Venice, for, restless as he is, his time hardly suffices for accomplishing what is most important; in the fourth act, too, he finds a knot that he cannot loosen. Before leaving the City of the Lagoon, on October 14, 1786, he writes—still without indicating the place—to the Duke, to Charlotte, and to Herder; to Charlotte he promises his *Diary*, which, with all collected as yet on his journey, he entrusts to carriers, that it may not arrive in Weimar before his first letters from Rome.

In desolate Ferrara (October 16), where he is filled with uneasy sad memory of the splendid Court that once abode there, of Ariosto discontented there, of Tasso unhappy, he feels a kind of deprivation of joy. As he drives in the early morning of October 17 to Cento, brooding between waking and dreaming the development of his *Iphigenie auf Tauris*, there rises to him the conception of an *Iphigenie in Delphi*. The pure beauty of the catastrophe—the recognition of Iphigenie by Electra—draws tears of joy from the poet. In Cento, the native city of Guercino, he is astonished and delighted by the simple, mild greatness of the many pictures of this old master, and by the easy, neat, and finished quality of his

¹ See vol. i. p. 157.—TR.

touch. In Bologna (October 18) he rejoices in the St. Agatha of Raphael; the painter has given his saint a healthy, secure maidenhood, without, however, coldness or harshness.¹ But precisely in Bologna, where so many hitherto unfamiliar masters are revealed to him, he feels how sadly lacking he is in knowledge and judgment. To Paderno, hard by, he rides (October 20) for the sake of its celebrated spar, and returns with a heavy load.

Through the Apennines he now travels fast, gathering on his way specimens of limestone and granite. On the road from Lojano to Giredo the thought of writing an *Ulysses auf Phäa* occurs. The restless longing for Rome permits but a three hours' stay in Florence (October 23). Outside Foligno he leaves his *vetturino*, meaning to wander on foot to the church of Santa Maria di Minerva on the hill at Assisi; in juxtaposition with this church as its façade a Roman temple of the time of Augustus is preserved. This, the first perfect monument of the classic age which he had seen, impressed him deeply with the power of ancient architecture.

All the inconveniences of the journey, the bad inns, the treacherous *vetturini*, dismay him not. "Were it on the wheel of Ixion that they dragged me to Rome I would not complain."² As from Spoleto, a town blessed with a huge number of churches and ecclesiastical institutions, he drives in the company of a priest to Terni, he meditates on the uncouth heathenism which has disfigured the kindly Christianity of the apostles. Thus his *Ewiger Jude*³ was brought to mind; he had meant in his never written epic to use

¹ "To her," writes Goethe, *Die Italiänische Reise*, October 19, 1786, "I will in spirit read aloud my *Iphigenie*, and my heroine shall say nothing that this saint might not utter."—TR.

² *Die Italiänische Reise*, October 25, 1786 (last sentence).—TR.

³ See vol. i. p. 255.—TR.

that word "*venio iterum crucifigi*," spoken, says legend, by Christ to Peter flying from Rome to avoid martyrdom.¹ In the wretched inn at Terni on October 27, 1786, he addresses a "prayer to his dear guardian angel," to Charlotte, now not seen for ten weeks. "For the first time I feel how spoiled I am; to have lived by thee, to have been loved by thee, ten years—and now in a world that is strange to me!—I foretold it silently, and only the highest necessity had compelled me to this resolve. Let us have no other thought than to spend the close of life together."²

Two days later, on Sunday, October 29, 1786, exactly eight weeks from the day of leaving Karlsbad, Goethe drove through the Porta del Popolo, his heart beating high to think that his dearest wish was now fulfilled—he was entering the Eternal City. The unusually cold weather and the unpleasant news that his banker in Rome had failed were unremarkable trifles in this mood of lofty joy.

His chief hope was in Tischbein. Johann Heinrich Wilhelm Tischbein was born at Haina in Hesse on February 15, 1751. After a short residence in Italy he had settled in Zürich, and had gained the affection of Lavater there. Several years before the time of which we now write Goethe had recommended Tischbein to the Duke of Gotha, who, supplying the money necessary, had sent him to Italy. The great picture

¹ And of that legend he is reminded, because he thinks that were Christ to return to seek the fruits of his labours, he would be in danger of a second crucifixion. *Die Italiänische Reise*, October 27, 1786.—TR.

² This is part of the original entry for October 27, 1786. It did not pass into *Die Italiänische Reise* as published. When Charlotte von Stein was giving back to Goethe the diaries and letters sent to her from Italy, she made copies of some of the passages which were specially important to her. This is one of them. Another, p. 29. See Düntzer's edition of *Die Italiänische Reise*, p. 670. (Hempel's *Goethe*, Theil. xxiv.)—TR.

Conradin,¹ sent from Italy to the Duke of Gotha, had won the highest praise, yet the Duke gave him no commission for a fresh picture, but only continued to pay a yearly sum for his maintenance, and promised to take him after a time into regular service. As Goethe could do no more with the Duke of Gotha, the closer union with the painter relaxed. Even to Tischbein he must not betray his intention of coming to Rome, yet he had put his hope after the "long weariness" of the journey in the "good" Tischbein.² Tischbein had just sent to Weimar to Goethe a collection of specimens of the marble used by ancient and modern Roman architects,³ and had also engaged in preparing for Goethe a series of copies of the best masters in chalk sepia and water-colour.⁴

A very joyful surprise it was to the painter when the poet of *Götz*, his inspiring genius,⁵ stood before him, and in a mood of such simple unalloyed friendliness, so anxious for deep and cordial intimacy, that Tischbein could hardly realise it! Goethe desired of the painter a little chamber for sleeping and working in, and a plain daily fare, which Tischbein easily managed. Tischbein's lodgings were on the Corso, on the left from the Porta del Popolo, opposite the Rondinini (also Rondanini) Palace, at the corner of the Vicolo della fontanella, which leads to the Pincian Hill, and down to which run the yard and garden of the house. (In 1872 the Common Council of Rome put up a memorial tablet on the house; it is now No. 20.) Beside Tischbein Goethe had for fellow-lodgers two young painters. One, his fellow-townsmen

¹ See vol. i. pp. 444 and 457.—TR.

² Goethe to Philipp Seidel, Venice, October 14, 1786.—TR.

³ *Die Italiänische Reise*, November 18, 1786.—TR.

⁴ *Ibid.*, December 29, 1786.—TR.

⁵ One of Tischbein's pictures was *Götz von Berlichingen* leading Weislingen into his room.—TR.

Johann Georg Schütz, born 1755, whose gay and easy disposition earned him the title "*il Barone*," had now spent two years in Rome; the other, Friedrich Bury of Hanau, born 1763, had been in Rome since 1780, was of a very sociable and cheery though stormy nature, and completely naturalised in Rome, having come thither so young. Thus was Goethe's inner circle composed. Tischbein lived on the first story; on the second Goethe had a small sitting-room commanding a wide prospect over the Pincian Hill, off this was his bedroom. So full of interest and delight were the first few days, that only by the second post after his arrival did he confide to his mother that he was in Rome.¹

In a week he had gained a general conception of the city. "We go busily hither and thither. I make myself familiar with the plans of ancient and modern Rome, survey the ruins, the buildings, visit this villa or that; the things most worthy of note are treated very slowly: I but gaze attentively and go and come again."² The Pantheon, the Cathedral of St. Peter, and the Apollo Belvedere, especially moved him; of none of them can drawings or casts give a notion;³ but when he saw the Colosseum in the twilight all else seemed small.⁴ In contrast with the haste of the journey and his former passionate yearning, he now felt an unused calm and clearness, "a seriousness without dryness and a composed frame with joy."⁵ Yet it pained him to think that all he saw was in ruin. He read deep in Vitruvius on architecture, and in Palladio, in whose time many buildings now ruined were still entire. And the gladder, less interrupted plant-life of Italy attracted him. He

¹ Goethe to his mother, Rome, Nov. 4, 1786. First published in *Goethe-Briefe aus Fritz Schlossers Nachlass*, 1877, S. 99. —TR.

² *Die Italiänische Reise*, Nov. 5, 1786.—TR.

³ *Ibid.*, Nov. 9, 1786.—TR.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Nov. 11, 1786.—TR.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Nov. 10, 1786.—TR.

made some very "pretty observations."¹ His source of highest pleasure was the intercourse with Tischbein, in whom he saw not merely a gifted and experienced artist but a good and wise man,² and who adhered to him with deep and earnest friendship. In the drawings and sketches of Tischbein, especially those which depict the first stages of the human culture, Goethe notices the vivid and fruitful mode of treatment; there was a good deal of discussion between them of the plan of producing a work of art in co-operation.³

So early as the third day (Nov. 2) after his arrival in Rome Goethe had become acquainted at the Quirinal with the Swiss painter, Heinrich Meyer, and afterwards felt constantly more drawn towards him by the thoroughness of his knowledge and by his honesty of heart. Meyer, born at Zürich in March 1760, and furthered by the instruction of Füssli, had, two years before the time of which we now write, come with his friend Cölla to Rome, where the two studied the best works of art, read diligently in the history of art, and copied successfully from antiques and from paintings, not omitting, however, to attempt original work also.

Not so intimate and genial was Goethe's connection with the antiquary, Aloys Hirt of Baden, of a somewhat dry nature, remarkable rather for his scholarship than for original power. Hirt was now twenty-six; in Vienna seven years ago he had devoted himself to art; he had been in Italy since 1782; he was hard-working and inspired with the best purpose. Goethe did his utmost to help Hirt, who was without means, to employment as a cicerone.⁴

Another resident in Rome was the poet and painter, Fried-

¹ Goethe to Knebel, Nov. 17, 1786.—TR.

² Goethe to Karl August, Dec. 12, 1786.—TR.

³ *Die Italiänische Reise*, Nov. 7, 1786.—TR.

⁴ Goethe to Wieland, Nov. 17, 1786.—TR.

rich Müller, born at Kreuznach, half a year before the birth of Goethe, with whom during the *Sturm und Drang* period he had had intercourse. When in 1778 Müller went to Rome, Goethe undertook to send him every year a sum subscribed by Weimar friends. In November 1780 Goethe writes to Müller, asking what truth there is in the report that he has become a Catholic. "It makes no change in our relations, only if it is a fact I should like to be able to tell those who inquire what the real circumstances are, and if it were not true to be able to contradict with authority." The pictures which Müller afterwards sent to Weimar pleased no one, and Goethe wrote in June 1781, finding fault and counselling in the friendliest way. Then came a breach between them. Müller's high self-esteem made reconciliation impossible; nay, his grudge deepened when he heard of Goethe's helping Tischbein with the Duke of Gotha; and now was he actually to see Tischbein Goethe's most intimate friend, and the poet besides condescending to young painters whom Müller considered far beneath himself in merit.

Another with whom Goethe became acquainted in the earliest period of his life in Rome, was *Hofrath* Johann Friedrich Reiffenstein, the business man of his friend the Duke of Gotha. Born in Prussian Lithuania, on the 22d of November 1729, Reiffenstein had lived in Rome since 1762. He had known Winckelmann there, and since Winckelmann's death had been the chief cicerone. Since 1780 he had been a *Hofrath*, not only of Gotha but of Russia; he stood in high repute at the Russian Court. In the History of Art he was a staunch follower of Winckelmann; in the Theory of Art, of Sulzer; in the practical rules of Art, of Mengs. He revered Raphael above all other painters, whereas many artists of that time gave Michael Angelo the palm. To this man, of such significance in the art-life of Rome, Goethe drew very

close, accommodating himself wisely to his peculiarities. Reiffenstein had a large villa at Frascati, close to the ancient Alba. There Goethe visited him on November 14, 1786, and spent a few delightful days in a neighbourhood full of all that was new and charming.

It was not until after his return from Frascati that he held himself a naturalised citizen of Rome ; and only then did he write (Nov. 17, 1786), telling the Duke, Charlotte, Herder, Wieland, and other Weimar friends, where he was. He added a few lines to Fritz Stein, who is to make himself comfortable in Goethe's room. All these letters were enclosed with that addressed to the Duke, who should be the first, after Goethe's mother, to know that his Privy Councillor was in Rome. The Duke was just then in Berlin ; thence, on December 2, 1786, he sent the Weimar letters to Charlotte von Stein, who thus did not hear the news until December 4, 1786. Henceforward Goethe wrote to her every Sunday, generally to Herder also, who of all friends understood him best. (By accidental delay, the *Diary* of the journey as far as Venice did not come into Charlotte's hands until the middle of January 1787.)

Goethe only now became acquainted with Karl Philipp Moritz, although Moritz had come to Rome a couple of days earlier than he. The author of the novel *Anton Reiser* (based on the strange story of his own life) had, in his *Reisen eines Deutschen in England*,¹ written a book so successful, that the publisher Campe advanced him money for a visit to Italy, that Moritz might produce a like book on this El Dorado of Nature and Art. He was very powerfully impressed by Goethe, whose junior he was by eight years. On the 20th of November 1786, Moritz writes that a few days ago he had a walk to the Villa Pamfili, in company with Goethe and some artists who live with him, and this walk "has introduced me to a new world

¹ *Travels of a German in England*.—TR.

of ideas and noble impressions. Intercourse with him [Goethe] brings fulfilment of the fairest visions of my youth, and his advent . . . is to me as to others—an unhoped-for piece of good fortune. For with all the beauties of Nature and of Art, there is yet nothing higher than the harmonious interchange of thought, by which alone obscure feelings gain expression and conscious existence.” There were in Moritz good qualities which attracted Goethe—pleasant social frankness, warm sympathies, clear perception, an earnest endeavour after insight into the reality of things, which last, indeed, often over-refined into useless minuteness. And Moritz’s studies in history and antiquities were helpful to Goethe, who used himself to read diligently in the Livy which he had ere this bought from one of the booksellers on the Corso, who expose for sale all the classics in tiny volumes at a moderate price.

Feeling his deficiency in technical knowledge, Goethe used generally to view buildings, antiques, and paintings, in the company of architects, sculptors, and painters. (Among the sculptors, he chiefly esteemed Alexander Trippel from Schaffhausen, who, born five years earlier than Goethe, and having spent a considerable time in Copenhagen and Paris, had now been ten years in Rome.) Yet, after all his efforts to enter into the spirit of the works of art, he felt not yet able to cope with them; their splendour dazed him, they kept his powers on the stretch, and yet he could find no entrance into the secret life of them; they afforded him no joy.¹

It was about this time that in the morning hours² of each day he again began work on the re-writing of *Iphigenie*. But in the midst of this task a “sad domestic trouble” (“böser

¹ Goethe to Knebel, November 17, 1786 :—“Doch ist’s Anstrengung statt Genusses, und Trauer statt Freude.”—TR.

² See in Hempel’s *Goethe*, Theil. xxiv. S. 698, Düntzer’s quotation from a letter of Tischbein’s, dated December 9, 1786.—TR.

Hauskreuz") came upon the little circle of friends. When Goethe, about the 6th of December 1786, with Tischbein and two other artists (probably Bury and Schütz), drove to the Fiumicino mouth of the Tiber, they were accompanied by Moritz and another friend on horseback. On their way home, when they were near the Porta Sixtina, Moritz fell from his horse and broke his left arm. Goethe proved himself a true friend; he had the sufferer brought home in an arm-chair, cared for his wants, visited him more than once every day during the month of lying still, watched by his bedside several nights, and arranged that this office should be performed every night by one of the German artists in turn (thus Moritz was hardly ever left without a friend at hand), and also wrote to Campe for him. Notwithstanding all this anxiety, *Iphigenie* was completed by the 12th of December 1786.¹ He would never have ventured on turning his prose into iambics without the guidance of the treatise, *Versuch einer Deutschen Prosodie*, published by Moritz in that year.²

He continued to traverse the city almost to weariness. He thought that his schooling in Rome should close for the present at Christmas, 1786. In the beginning of the new year he would go to Naples, accompanied by the "good, the noble (and yet so sagacious) the cultivated" Tischbein; there in the glories of Nature "to wash my soul clean from the Idea of so many dreary ruins, and to assuage the too severe conceptions of Art."³ Then, immediately after Easter 1787, he thought he should turn his steps homewards.

In Rome at that time, accompanied by a certain Abate Tacchi, was stopping the Prince Karl Borromäus von Liechtenstein, a brother of the Countess von Harrach, whom Goethe

¹ Goethe to Karl August, December 12, 1786.—TR.

² *Die Italiänische Reise*, January 10, 1787.—TR.

³ Goethe to Karl August, December 12, 1786.—TR.

honoured. The Prince was but twenty-one. He had met Goethe in Karlsbad, and when he heard that the poet was in Rome, he begged Hirt to bring them together. Their meeting took place in the Doria Gallery, but Goethe adhered to his incognito, though he was persuaded into dining a few times with the Prince. Thus it was that he met the Abate Monti (born 1754 in the Duchy of Ferrara), whose new tragedy, *Aristodemo*, was soon coming out. Goethe had to listen to the author reading this aloud. Though he did not conceal his doubt that the excellent piece would be well received in a theatre, he promised to come with his friends to see it and to pay the poet the deserved applause.¹ Abate Tacchi would fain have translated *Iphigenie* into Italian.²

All intercourse with persons of rank—Prince Liechtenstein excepted—was refused by Goethe. He wished to live a free human life in Rome, and certainly nothing could be further from his desire than to exhibit himself as a notability. Thus we find him firmly declining to be introduced to the daughter of the English Pretender (who then lived in Rome as Count Albany). Goethe could not, indeed, but rejoice to observe that he was known in Rome beyond all expectation, the Germans especially being taken with him.³ But when they seriously proposed to crown him at the Capitol, he forbade the farce.⁴

¹ *Die Italiänische Reise*, November 23, 1786.—TR.

² *Ibid.*, January 4, 1787.—TR.

³ Besides *Die Italiänische Reise*, January 4, 1787 (end), see Goethe to Karl August, December 12, 1786.—TR.

⁴ *Die Italiänische Reise*, January 4, 1787, and see Düntzer's quotation from a letter of Tischbein to Lavater, December 9, 1786, in Hempel's *Goethe*, xxiv. 698. Goethe can hardly be said to have rejoiced in his notoriety when he writes:—"Wie das Alles zusammenhängt und wie ich ein grosser Thor wäre zu glauben dass das Alles um meinetwillen geschähe, dereinst mündlich."—TR.

Though by the middle of December 1786 he had several times seen what was most significant and what was best in Rome, he yet felt—unlike the greater number of travellers—how little in such matters to have *seen* means.¹ Beside the mighty buildings, the Apollo of the Belvedere and Raphael's Loggia, must be mentioned the colossal heads of the so-called Smiling Jupiter, the Juno Ludovisi, and the Medusa Rondinini, which had so won his love that he did not rest until he possessed casts of them. The stupendous creation of Michael Angelo on the ceiling of the Sixtine Chapel, overpowered and possessed the poet, and after it he could not find delight in Raphael's Loggia.² And beside these single and peculiar great works he was met at every step by so much else of significance that he had simply to yield himself up, to let all work upon him while the due growth proceeded within.³ Striving after that all-sidedness from which alone proceeds perfect knowledge, his attention was engaged by many things—by the history of Rome, by the history of ancient Art, by the study of antiquities, of coins, and what not.⁴ Even Roman politics and administration could not escape the Weimar statesman.⁵ December, a month which had always been so unfavourable to him in Weimar, sent him to botanical observations again—his first southern December, when grass and herbs sprouted for the second time, meadows and squares grew green again, and the many evergreens refreshed the sight. And through this stimulation of all his powers of thinking and acting, he felt a strong current of life penetrate

¹ Goethe to Karl August, December 12, 1786.—TR.

² *Die Italiänische Reise*, December 2, 1786. See M. Theophile Cart's remark on this in his *Goethe en Italie*, p. 59.—TR.

³ *Die Italiänische Reise*, this thought three or four times repeated in the entries of the beginning of December 1786.—TR.

⁴ *Ibid.*, December 29, 1786, January 4, 1787.—TR.

⁵ See, for instance, Goethe to Karl August, January 10, 1787.—TR.

his whole being; he thinks that he is changed to the very marrow—in truth born again.¹

The impossibility of leaving Rome so soon had impressed itself on him, when a “gracious sympathetic letter”² from the Duke of Weimar granted him unlimited leave of absence; besides his friends wrote exhorting him not to hurry. Accordingly he made up his mind not to start for Naples until the first week in Lent; he would get back to Rome before Easter, visit Florence in the summer, and in the autumn of 1787 commence his homeward journey. Sicily, too, he had thought of, but it seemed to him that he could only go thither, after considerable preparation, in the autumn, and must then stay there until the end of the year, a plan which would only bring him home in the spring of 1788. But these plans were deranged by news that the Duke had had a fall from his horse in Berlin.³

Meanwhile Tischbein had designed a great painting—*Goethe outside Rome*. The poet was to appear clad in a great white mantle, a large soft hat on his head, reclining on an overturned Egyptian obelisk, before him a broken Greek *relievo*, and behind that the capital of a Roman pillar. In his glance, wandering over the Campagna, one should read the thought of the perishable nature of all earthly splendour; and in the distance were to be seen the tombs that border the Appian Way, and other Roman ruins against the background of the Alban Mount.⁴ When Goethe first speaks of this

¹ The following references will here be found interesting—*Die Italiänische Reise*, December 2, 3, 13, 20, 1786; Goethe to Duke Ernst of Gotha, February 6, 1787, *Zweiter Römischer Aufenthalt*, December 21, 1787.—Tr.

² “Einen gütigen mitfühlenden Brief,” *Die Italiänische Reise*, January 4, 1787.—Tr.

³ *Die Italiänische Reise*, January 4, 1787.—Tr.

⁴ See the contemporary description of this design quoted by Düntzer, from Wieland's *Merkur*; Hempel's *Goethe*, xxiv. 707-8.—Tr.

design (*Die Italiänische Reise*, December 29, 1786) Tischbein had already stretched the canvas, and on the 18th of February 1787 Goethe notes how Tischbein has procured a small



FIG. 1. Tischbein's painting, *Goethe outside Rome*. From the *Frankfurt Gedenkblätter an Goethe*.

bronze model which he covers with the mantle, and how he is working diligently that the picture may be brought to a certain point before they leave for Naples. On June 27, 1787, Goethe notes that his portrait is going on well; it was

not finished until a later time. Karl von Rothschild bought it in Italy and brought it to Frankfurt. The *relievo* represents Orestes and Pylades before Iphigenia. We give an engraving of the picture as it finally stands. There are copies of Tischbein's first design in existence; the *relievo* is different, and on the obelisk you see hieroglyphic writing. Tischbein had also begun a picture, *Hector and Paris*, for the Duke of Gotha, probably at Goethe's prompting.¹

In the meantime the *Custode* of the ancient, sadly declined Arcadian Academy of Rome² had been setting in motion every agency which could help to persuade the great German poet to join the society. The influence of the Prince von Liechtenstein was brought into service. To escape the Capitoline laurel, about which they continued to plague him, the poet yielded himself to be an Arcadian shepherd. On January 4, 1787, he appeared in the Academy's Hall of Session, was summoned forth by the name "Megalia,"³ and the fields of Melpomene were assigned to him. On the same day he begged Charlotte to call a council of those who loved him (Herder and Knebel), to decide whether he should return to Weimar at once, a course to which he himself inclined. "The strongest influence to keep me in Italy is Tischbein; never, even though it were my fate to visit this beautiful land again, can I learn so much in so short a time as I can at present in the society of this man, cultivated, experienced, fine in feeling,

¹ Goethe to Duke Ernst of Gotha, February 6, 1787. Hempel's *Goethe*, xxiv. 730.—TR.

² English readers will find a delightful account of this Academy in Vernon Lee's *Italy in the Eighteenth Century*.—TR.

³ Goethe to Fritz Stein, January 4, 1787:—"And I received the name Megalia *per causa della grandezza*, or *grandiosità delle mie opere*, as the gentlemen were pleased to express themselves." (Note how in the *Zweiter Römischer Aufenthalt* Goethe mis-dates by a whole year this reception.)—TR.

just in judgment, and devoted to me soul and body. I say not how the scales, as it were, fall from my eyes. He who dwells in the night takes the dawn for day, and a gloomy day for brightness; what is it then when the sun appears!¹ Then I hitherto have altogether withheld myself from society, which thus by slow degrees gains a hold upon me, and which, too, I probably was not unwilling to observe with hurried glances."

He did not guess that Diplomacy had already been making itself busy about him. It was supposed that Goethe being the minister of the Duke of Weimar must know of Prussia's moves relative to the election of Dalberg as *Coadjutor* of the Elector of Mainz. Accordingly, endeavours were made to steal his letters. The Austrian Cardinal von Herzan had instructed his German secretary to do this; and the secretary pressed himself into Goethe's acquaintance, but did not, however, win very far in his confidence. He actually did steal from Goethe, we do not know how, one of his mother's letters.²

Another of the numerous acquaintance of Goethe in Rome was the Prince Christian August von Waldeck; in Karlsbad they had known one another already. The Prince was a general in the Austrian service. Five years older than Goethe, he was now visiting Rome for the fifth time. He possessed a great collection of coins, to complete which he was making large purchases. A beautiful Bohemian lady accompanied him; her old husband was one of the party.³ The Prince was

¹ "Wer in der Nacht steckt hält die Dämmerung schon für Tag und einen grauen Tag für helle; was ist's aber wenn die Sonne aufgeht." *Die Italiänische Reise*, January 4, 1787.—TR.

² The innocent letter turned up in 1868 in Sebastian Brunner's *Die theologische Dienerschaft am Hofe Joseph II.* Keil has it, p. 254.—TR.

³ Goethe to Karl August, January 10, 1787. (Hempel's *Goethe*, xxiv. 716-8.) *Die Italiänische Reise*, March 1, 1787.—TR.

extraordinarily friendly to Goethe, to whom his manifold knowledge of art and wide acquaintance were of great service. When visiting the Prince one evening, Goethe was asked what literary work at present occupied him? He mentioned *Iphigenie*, and gave the Prince a detailed account of its contents, but did not find much interest awakened.¹

On January 10, 1787, Goethe writes to the Duke of Weimar:—"I wait painfully until I hear that you are again at home and that no bad results are to be feared, and I entreat you, recall me if you think I am in the least wanted. As surely as I could remain here with profit for years, so surely have I already plucked the topmost blossoms of the Great and Beautiful, and can go in the strength of it all my life. And the results have, I feel, been blessed to my spirit also, which grows gladder, more open, more ready to give and receive sympathy. . . . The most important subject on which I at present exercise eye and intellect is the styles of the various ancient peoples, and the epochs of each style, as to which Winckelmann's *Geschichte der Kunst* is a trustworthy guide. With the help of friendly artist eyes and my own talent for combination, I seek as far as possible to discover and supplement many a thing which Winckelmann himself would give us if this year he could prepare a new edition."² In studying Winckelmann after this fashion he received especially valuable aid from Meyer; this man's worth grew constantly more clear to Goethe. A little farther on the letter which we have been quoting refers thus to Meyer:—"I have been repeatedly thinking about our Drawing Academy, and I have found a man of the kind we shall need after Kraus's departure if we are to get to more solid work. As to the influence which I had on the Academy, I used always to

¹ This Goethe tells only in the entry, March 1, 1787.—TR.

² Compare *Die Italiänische Reise*, January 13, 1787.—TR.

feel that I did not understand it; now I know the why and wherefore."

A Swiss had copied out *Iphigenie* in clean manuscript for him. This play Goethe now read aloud to the circle of more intimate artist friends, but, owing to its repose, it had not the fine effect on them which he had hoped.¹ As he read aloud he underlined verses which did not yet flow well; some of these he altered, others he left to receive touches from Herder's pen. He directed Seidel (January 13) to submit the manuscript of *Iphigenie* to Herder before it passed on to the printer.

About this time it was that Goethe made one of his most resultful acquaintanceships, that of Angelika Kauffmann. Born at Bregenz on the 30th of October 1741, she was already a distinguished painter in Rome in 1763. In 1769 she went to London and stayed there until 1780, when she returned to Rome. To escape her state of single loneliness she married the painter Antonio Zucchi, a Venetian advanced in years. Angelika (thus she was generally spoken of) was indeed an angelic soul, full of tender womanhood, sympathetic, pure, ardent; and Goethe felt a deep and exquisite attraction in her. She worked in her art rapidly and restlessly; her pictures were remarkable for lightness of touch, grace, brightness. One day when Goethe and Reiffenstein were at her house, she expressed the wish to hear *Iphigenie* read aloud; on this occasion Goethe was only able to give an abstract, but the ardour of his manner affected deeply even Angelika's husband.²

With the thorough earnestness of his nature, which everywhere desired to press to the essence of things, he now strove

¹ *Die Italiänische Reise*, January 10, 1787. The young artists had expected "etwas Berlichingisches," Goethe tells us.—TR.

² *Ibid.*, January 22, 1787.—TR.

to appropriate to himself in all its aspects that Rome which had grown so familiar. He laboured diligently to discover the rules after which the ancient sculptors have developed from the human figure the perfectly concluded circle of divine form, to discover their technique in the treatment of the body; he supposed that they had proceeded by the same laws as did Nature,¹ nay, he believed himself to be now on the track of Nature, only he found something in her which he could not express. The skeleton was to him no longer a cluster of bones cunningly grouped together: he contemplated it together with the clothing of flesh and ligament which gave it motion and life.² In the evenings he studied perspective.

And now with the warm spring weather waked anew the delight in sketching the fair landscape. A fortnight was spent in going "through the depths and heights of the villas," outlining on small sheets striking, characteristically Roman, views; to the outlines he afterwards strove to give light and shade. "It is very strange that one may see and know clearly what is good and what is better; and let him try to make it his own—it disappears as it were under his hands, and we seize not that which is right but that which we have been used to hold. . . . Meanwhile, however, I feel myself greatly improved by the fortnight of passionate endeavour."³

The theatres—seven opened with the beginning year—profited him little; he visited them hardly at all, only in *Aristodemo*⁴ and some comedies did he find any pleasure. The

¹ Compare the letter of September 6, 1787, *Zweiter Römischer Aufenthalt*.—TR.

² *Die Italiänische Reise*, January 20, 1787.—TR.

³ *Ibid.*, February 17, 1787. See also Goethe to Knebel, February 19, 1787.—TR.

⁴ *Aristodemo* was after all acted amid great applause. *Die Italiänische Reise*, January 15, 1787.—TR.

Grand Opera seemed a "monster without the vigour and sap of life;" even the *opera buffa* lacked finish and completeness, but a new intermezzo by Anfossi was "happily composed," and was played with great applause.¹ He asks Kayser how it stands with the composing of *Scherz, List, und Rache*, and when the piece can be published, and he mentions that he thinks of writing a new opera.²

The friendship with Angelika grew closer. When he read aloud *Iphigenie* she received it with "incredible depth of feeling," and she promised him a drawing from it.³ From her he parted with regret; though he longed to leave Rome, the endeavours of the latter part of his stay to see as much as possible of the exhaustless scattered fragmentary city having been very wearying. The mad doings of the Carnival, especially noisy in the streets about his lodging, had only a historical interest for him; he could not find anything in them to sympathise with; his approaching departure weighed upon him; and amid all the tumult of the festival it was evident that real light-heartedness was absent, and under that bad government the Romans had not money enough to give vent to the little bit of pleasure they might feel.⁴

He hoped that when next he saw Rome he should have new strength and hope, and thus should gain a deeper and clearer impression of the Eternal City, and take away with him to his home the perfect idea of antique art, to serve for the joy and profit of himself and his friends in future years.

¹ Goethe to Kayser, February 6, 1787; Goethe to Karl August, February 10, 1787.—TR.

² See the letter which Burkhardt (p. 37) dates November 25, 1786, *Goethe und Kayser*, 64-65.—TR.

³ *Die Italiänische Reise*, February 15, 1787.—TR.

⁴ *Ibid.*, February 21, 1787.—TR.

CHAPTER II.

NAPLES AND SICILY.

FEBRUARY-JUNE 1787.

ON the morning of February 22, 1787, a carriage drove out of Rome, bearing Goethe southwards. Tischbein, who had been a few times to Naples already, was his companion. The four days spent on the road were, notwithstanding the bad inns, rich in manifold enjoyment. They reached Naples on February 25. At sight of the wonderful scenery Goethe was, "after his fashion, perfectly quiet, only making, when it became too mad, great, great eyes." "I pardoned all who lose their senses in Naples, and thought with emotion of my father, who had retained an indelible impression especially of the objects which I to-day saw for the first time. And as it said that one to whom a phantom has appeared never again is glad, so might it be said of my father that he could never be altogether unhappy, because he was constantly thinking himself back to Naples."¹

The easy, joyous life of Naples was very welcome to one so exhausted as Goethe had been by his toils in Rome, but his "German turn of mind, and desire rather to learn and to act

¹ *Die Italiänische Reise*, February 27, 1787. Compare September 28, 29, November 1, 1786, for mention of Goethe's father.—TR.

than to enjoy,"¹ did not permit him to lapse into the divine indolence of the place. Through Tischbein he learned to know the painter Lodovico Venuti, a great favourite with the King. Tischbein, too, it was who conducted Goethe to Philipp Hackert, a celebrated landscape painter. Hackert, a native of Prenzlau, was now in his fiftieth year. He had come to Rome in 1768, and in 1785 left Rome for Naples, at the invitation of the King, into whose service he was taken. Another with whom Goethe became acquainted was Gaetano Filangieri, the author of *La scienza della legislazione*, a work long known and valued by Goethe. Filangieri was now two and fifty; he had been appointed First Councillor of Finance by the King. At Filangieri's house Goethe met Filangieri's sister, the Princess Belmonte, a type of charming Neapolitan frivolity united with unaffected goodness of heart.

He visited Pozzuoli on the 1st of March 1787, in the company of the Prince of Waldeck. Vesuvius was three times ascended (March 2, March 6, and March 20). The churches and most of the art treasures of Naples were seen, and Pompeii, and the island of Ischia, so full of interest to the mineralogist.²

The Prince of Waldeck pressed Goethe in vain to go with him to Albania and Dalmatia. The poet could not withstand the longing for Sicily, where the ruins of Greek temples testified to the beauty and greatness of ancient Greek architecture. The doubt whether he ought to go or stay troubled with disquiet a good deal of his stay in Naples. It was also a grief to him that in his journey to Sicily he could not have the companionship of Tischbein, who was forming the friendships and connections which should at a future time procure him

¹ *Die Italiänische Reise*, March 22, 1787.—TR.

² On the visit to Ischia see Düntzer's edition of *Die Italiänische Reise*. Hempel's *Goethe*, xxiv. pp. 571, 813.—TR.

an appointment in Naples, which had grown very dear to him.

Tischbein recommended to Goethe as a companion the landscape painter, Christof Heinrich Kniep, a native of Hildesheim, half a year older than the poet, of whom he was an enthusiastic admirer. The gifted and industrious artist, working for insufficient prices, was in needy circumstances. On an excursion by Salerno to Paestum, the ancient Posidonia, Goethe was struck by Kniep's great talent for correctly and rapidly sketching buildings and landscapes, and learned to value his kindly, sociable nature. The severe style of the Doric ruins, the "blunt, coniform, closely congregated masses of the pillars," at first shocked the artistic sense of the poet, habituated to a more ornate architecture. Yet he soon reflected, called to mind the history of art, thought of the time whose spirit was consonant with this art, and in "less than an hour" felt reconciled with it; nay, he blessed his Genius for having brought before his eyes the very ruins themselves, as no picture can give a notion of them.¹ The glimpse of Pompeii enjoyed in Tischbein's society, and the museum at Portici,² helped to complete the picture of the antique, perished world. Full of brightness and of solid gain were three days (March 14-16) spent with Hackert in his pleasant rooms in the old castle at Caserta. There Goethe drew, under the supervision of Hackert. This painter was remarkable for his correct eye, delicate treatment, for naturalness and a vivid sense for the line of landscape. He granted that Goethe had talent, but that he could produce nothing because he lacked definiteness in touch, clearness, certainty in treatment. "Stay with me eighteen months," said the painter, "and you shall produce something that will give pleasure to yourself and to others."

¹ *Die Italiänische Reise*, March 23, 1787.—TR.

² *Ibid.*, March 11 and March 18, 1787.—TR.

The old English ambassador, Sir William Hamilton, was the possessor of a splendid art-collection. Goethe visited him and saw his beautiful mistress, Emma Harte, who, then but twenty-five, had already known strange fortunes. The ease with which this lady assumed all the positions and gestures that many artists toil after in vain, astonished Goethe, though he felt that the "beautiful entertainer" was without soul.¹

What he had long ventured to hope—that in this beautiful Italy his observations on plant life would receive confirmation—did really happen. On March 25, 1787, as he walked by the sea in a calm and pleasurable frame, "a good illumination" came to him. "I beg you to tell Herder that I shall soon have the type-plant, only I fear that no one will recognise the rest of the vegetable kingdom in it. My famous doctrine of the cotyledons is so sublimed that it will be almost impossible to go farther."² And he gained clear elucidation of the rock and lava formations of Vesuvius. All disposition to creative, poetic activity was absent during his stay in Naples. When, at noon on the 29th of March 1787, he went with Kniep on board the corvette that was to convey them to Palermo, he took with him the two acts of *Tasso*³ written in Weimar.

The *Diary* which Goethe kept for Charlotte von Stein gives the most vivid picture of this journey to Sicily. As a landscape-painter he gained altogether new thoughts from the "great simple line" of the sea-boundary. When he felt seasickness approaching, he went to his cabin, and lying there, shut off from the external world, let the mind have full sway, thinking the new plan of *Tasso* "over and over, through and through, in sleep and in half waking." The sight of Palermo,

¹ So he notes *Die Italiänische Reise*, May 27, 1787.—TR.

² *Ibid.*, March 25. Part of a letter to Charlotte von Stein.—TR.

³ See vol. i. pp. 387, 395, 399, 433.—TR.

with "the most beautiful of all the promontories in the world,"¹ overpowered him. He felt constrained to read the *Odyssey*,² which in Sicily for the first time became to him "a living word."³ In the Public Gardens of Palermo he brooded over the conception of a drama, *Nausikaa*; he wrote down the plan, and even began its execution, but in the presence of the rare southern plant life "the old whim" came upon him, might not he discover the type-plant amid the throng? And as the garden of this world revealed itself, the garden of Alcinous vanished.⁴ On April 12, Goethe derived much pleasure and profit from a visit to the collection of medals of Prince Torremuzza.

Never in his life, he writes to Fritz Stein on April 17, had he spent so many consecutive days so bright and happy as the sixteen spent in Palermo. On the same day he wrote to Charlotte:—"What joy does my little bit of knowledge of the things of nature bring me every day, and how much more ought I to know that my joy might be full. That which I prepare for you prospers in my hands. Already have I shed tears of joy to think that I shall give you joy. . . . My heart is with you."

On the 18th of April 1787 our travellers left Palermo,⁵

¹ So Goethe calls Monte Pellegrino; *Die Italiänische Reise*, April 3, 1787.—TR.

² *Die Italiänische Reise*, April 7, 1787:—"Die schwärzlichen Wellen am nördlichen Horizonte, ihr Anstreben an die Buchtkrümmungen, selbst der eigene Geruch des dünstenden Meeres, das Alles rief mir die Insel der seligen Phäaken in die Sinne so wie ins Gedächtniss. Ich eilte sogleich einen Homer zu kaufen. . . ."—TR.

³ Goethe to Herder, *Die Italiänische Reise*, May 17, 1787.—TR.

⁴ *Die Italiänische Reise*, April 16 and 17, 1787.—TR.

⁵ A memorandum of the chief places touched on is not amiss here. They are—Alcamo, Segesta, Castel Vetrano, Sciacca, Girgenti, Caltanissetta, Castro Giovanni, Catania, Taormina, Messina.—TR.

to traverse by no very direct route the fruitful land, and take ship finally from Messina. On the way Goethe observed the Animal and Vegetable Kingdoms, and was pleased with the excellent cattle. But the chief interest of the journey was, of course, the architecture of the ruined Greek temples at Segeste and Girgenti (Selinus they did not visit), the antiquities, statues, and coins in Catania, and the Greek theatre at Taormina. By the advice of the celebrated naturalist, Gioeni, they only ascended Mount *Ætna* as far as the Monti Grossi. Messina, which not long before (February 1783) had suffered by an earthquake, was reached by our travellers on May 8, 1787. On May 14, after a tedious and dangerous voyage,¹ Goethe arrived in Naples again, "right happy to have the great, beautiful, incomparable idea of Sicily, so clear, so perfect, so unmixed with baser matter."² The numerous sketches which Kniep had made during the journey were divided; some of them the painter was to finish at a fixed price for Goethe.

In Naples he heard, through a letter from Seidel, that in Weimar many people thought that Goethe would not return, and accordingly uttered their minds upon him freely. He is, they said, wasting the good salary on this journey while others are sweating under his work. Tischbein and Hackert were not in Naples at the time of Goethe's return; they had gone to Rome for a short stay.

On May 15 Goethe and Kniep visited Paestum a second time. Of the temple ruins there he writes (May 17):—"It is the last, and I might almost say noblest, Idea which I now

¹ In Mr. Hutton's Essay on Goethe there is admirable comment on Goethe's behaviour in the danger. It is perhaps a pity that Prof. Düntzer passes over the incident, and over another almost as interesting—the adventure at Malsesina on September 13, 1786.—TR.

² Goethe to Herder, *Die Italiänische Reise*, May 17, 1787.—TR.

can bear northwards in its perfectness. And, in my opinion, the central temple is superior to anything at present to be seen in Sicily." In Kniep's company he revisited Pozzuoli (May 19), in order to discover, if possible, an explanation of the present condition of the ruins of the temple of Jupiter Serapis: he formed a remarkable theory.¹ Portici also was visited a second time. The theatre, which hitherto during his Italian journey had given him so little pleasure, now did amuse him, yet he sees that he is too old for these jests.²

He derived great pleasure from a letter of the Duke's which now came, announcing the election of Dalberg as *Coadjutor* of the Elector of Mainz, and acknowledging in the most flattering way Goethe's diligence in office during the past ten years. The Duke announced his intention of appointing Schmidt³ Vice-President of the Board of Finance, leaving Goethe the direction still. Goethe thought Schmidt very fit for the post, but thought it not well that one member of the Privy Council should be subordinate to another in his capacity as member of the Board of Finance. Would the Duke relieve Goethe of his burden of financial cares, and appoint Schmidt President of the Board formally or informally. "My single desire was, to know you master of your own. All that you do towards ordering things after your own pleasure cannot be other than pleasurable to me. Make this change when you think fit, and as you think fit! By the beginning of September I shall, I hope, be in Frankfurt. If I can then remain

¹ Of this visit Goethe makes no mention in *Die Italiänische Reise*. He tells of it in the essay, *Architektonisch-naturhistorisches Problem*, in the portion of his writings called *Naturwissenschaftliche Einzelheiten* (Hempel's *Goethe*, xxxiv. 223). His theory is not the true one.—Tr.

² Goethe to Karl August, May 27, 1787; from this letter is also derived the main substance and the quotation of the next paragraph.—Tr.

³ See vol. i. p. 418.—Tr.

awhile with my mother, bringing the last four volumes of my *Works* into order, perfecting the observations made on my journey, perhaps labouring on *Wilhelm* and some other ideas, I shall find myself lightened of a great burden ; for these tasks must, after all, be left behind me some time. . . . My relations with business have their origin in my personal relations with you ; and now, after so many years, let a new relation with you proceed from these relations of business which have subsisted hitherto. I am ready for each and every use that you wish to make of me. Question me concerning the symphony that you have a mind to play ; I will gladly at any time speak my opinion. . . . Already I see what service the journey has done me, how it has enlightened me and gladdened my existence. As you have borne with me to the present, care for me further and benefit me more than I can myself, than I dare to wish and desire. Give me back to myself, to my country—give me back to yourself, that I may begin a new life, and with you ! I have seen a great and beautiful portion of the earth, and the result is, that I can only bear life with you and in your land (*in dem Ihrigen*). If I can live there less overwhelmed with details—for which I am not born—I can live to your joy and the joy of many men !”

Goethe's departure from Naples was delayed by the arrival of the Prussian ambassador, the Marchese Lucchesini. There was a great deal of pleasure in acquaintance with this accomplished man of the world,¹ who told the poet the last political news, and enlightened him as to the world's affairs. Many

¹ Goethe says of Lucchesini, *Die Italiänische Reise*, June 1 :—“ He appears to me one of those men who have a good moral stomach, thus retaining always a power of sympathetic enjoyment at the table of the world ; a contrast to one of our sort, who at times, like ruminant animals, fills himself to excess, and then can take in nothing more until he has finished a process of repeated chewing and digesting.—TR.”

other interesting persons were met by Goethe at this time but, attractive as they were, he felt that in Naples he was growing continually more inactive, and was swerving from the path that led to his real goal.¹ At length he tore himself with an effort from the bewitching city, though he would have been only too glad to remain and observe close at hand the lava stream that at length began to pour down towards the sea from the summit of Vesuvius. He overcame, also, the endeavour of Venuti to delay him, who had indeed a special reason in so doing, as he at length explained. Shortly before Goethe's departure he had another friendly letter from the Duke, urging him not to over-hasten in his return. And from that time forward he had made up his mind to remain in Rome until his birthday. He parted with much sadness from the worthy Kniep. At the custom-house of the Chiaja, on June 3, 1787, as Goethe waited for the *vetturino*, he with surprise saw Kniep emerge from the coffee-stall bearing a cup of coffee, which he offered to Goethe, meaning by the act a symbol of what was due from him to Goethe for all his "love and goodness, and beneficial influence on my whole life."

They were never to see each other again, but Kniep, until the end, thought with love and reverence of the poet who had lifted up his life so. He never left Naples, became a Professor of the Academy there, and there died seven years before Goethe.

¹ *Die Italiänische Reise*, June 1, 1787.—TR.

CHAPTER III.

THE SECOND RESIDENCE IN ROME.

JUNE 1787-JUNE 1788.

GOETHE tells us that what had above all rendered him obstinate in resisting the allurements of Naples was the celebration of the feast of Corpus Christi in Rome, and in that the splendid tapestries after Raphael's cartoons, which it was customary to hang in the Vatican. On Wednesday, the 6th of June 1787, the day preceding that on which the feast was celebrated, he reached Rome, having spent four days on the way. Now having purified and strengthened his spirit in the radiance of Naples and Sicily, he could command a greater calm to develop his knowledge of art and his "small talents" for plastic art. Hackert and Tischbein were still in Rome. Tischbein's picture of Goethe was progressing well. Goethe spent a few days of the earlier half of June in Tivoli with Hackert, who gave him lessons in landscape-painting.

On June 20, 1787, Goethe writes :—"Now I have been again looking at excellent works of art here, and my spirit clarifies and settles. Yet I should need at least a year more alone in Rome in order to profit by the stay after my own fashion." After this he spent three glorious days at Albano,

Castel-Gandolfo, and Frascati, where there is an ever-joyous, pure atmosphere. "There is a Nature to study!" On June 27 he tells how he has been with Hackert in the Colonna Gallery, where hang works of Poussin, Claude, and Salvator Rosa. Hackert was copying some of these, and studying others very thoroughly; his remarks did not change Goethe's conceptions, only widened and determined them. "If one now could look on Nature, and again find and read what they [the great painters] have found, and more or less imitated, it could not but enlarge and purify the spirit, and give the highest perceptive notion of Nature and Art. And I will not rest until nothing is any longer Word and Tradition but living Notion."¹

The Feast of St. Peter and St. Paul fell on the last days of June 1787; Goethe was filled with admiration by the vast illumination of the Dome of St. Peter's, together with the fireworks from the Castle of St. Angelo. Immediately after the Feast Hackert went to Albano. With Hackert, Tischbein meant to go to Naples, to remain some time there. Goethe therefore rented for the summer Tischbein's great room, in which was the almost finished portrait. Henceforward those who exercised the most powerful influence over him were Heinrich Meyer and Angelika Kauffmann. Every Sunday Goethe visited a picture-gallery with Angelika, and dined at her house. Each confided to the other his and her whole position and mood. Angelika was not happy, as her husband, — notwithstanding their good means, wished her to go on painting for sale, while she desired purely to follow her artist bent. She was mild towards Goethe's breaches of etiquette, he had a "General Pardon."²

¹ *Die Italiänische Reise*, June 27, 1787.—Tr.

² Goethe to Angelika, February 1788. Düntzer's edition of *Die Italiänische Reise*; Hempel's *Goethe*, xxiv. S. 934-5.—Tr.

Moritz, Bury, and Schütz remained close companions. Moritz's knowledge of history and antiquities was very useful to Goethe. Since "all artists old and young helped him to polish up and to enlarge his little talent,"¹ he made rapid progress in drawing. And in spite of the heat the comic opera was visited with eager interest. Cimarosa's new intermezzo *L'impresario in angustie* is noted under the 31st July as "thoroughly excellent and likely to give us pleasure many nights." One evening, in order to give pleasure to Angelika, who had an unconquerable dislike to visiting the theatre, Goethe improvised in his large chamber a grand concert by the members of the comic opera. This concert drew general attention on "the quiet lodgings opposite the Rondanini Palace."² At the house of the lover of art, Count John von Friess, a Viennese advanced in years, who had shown himself extremely friendly to Goethe, our poet met in July the Austrian Court poet, Abate Giambattista Casti. Casti, born at Prato in 1721, was the author of *Il Re Teodoro in Venezia*, a favourite opera with Goethe. Casti recited a tale, *Der Erzbischof von Prag*, as yet unprinted, not very respectable, but composed in beautiful *ottave rime*. The recitation was excellent, light and charming and intellectual.³ In the evening, Goethe attended the course of lessons in perspective, which young Verschaffelt from Mannheim gave to a numerous assembly.⁴ Notwithstanding the great heat which made it necessary to stay within doors during the greater part of every day, Goethe worked hard during July and August at *Egmont*, not a little stimulated to think that just then in Brussels were being enacted scenes the counterpart of those of *Egmont's* time.⁵ He wrote the play, as he says himself, with

¹ *Zweiter Römischer Aufenthalt*, July 27, 1787.—TR.

² *Ibid.*, the *Bericht* for July 1787.—TR.

³ *Ibid.*, July 17, 1787.

⁴ *Ibid.*, *Bericht* for August 1787.

⁵ *Ibid.*, July 9, 1787.—TR.

great freedom of spirit and conscientiousness,¹ in the certain prospect that the stage would immediately adopt it.

Meanwhile Goethe had become convinced that in the short allotted time he could not perfect the artistic training which he had hoped from Rome. Accordingly, on the 11th of August, having shortly before received a friendly letter from the Duke which put him at ease as to his future position, Goethe wrote begging permission to stay in Italy until the Easter of 1788. "My spirit is capable of advancing far in the knowledge of art, and on all sides I am exhorted to cultivate my small talent for drawing, and thus these months would suffice to make my insight and my dexterity (*Fertigkeit*) perfect. Now I am studying architecture and perspective, the composition and colouring of landscape. I should like to devote September and October to drawing in the open air; November and December to perfecting this at home, making it ready and finishing it; the early months of the coming year to the human figure, face, etc. . . . By Easter I shall have brought it so far as to be able thenceforward to go on by myself—for there are certain things which must be learned and adopted from others. . . . Yet another epoch I have in mind to close at Easter; my first, or rather my second, literary epoch. *Egmont* is done, and I hope with the New Year to have completed *Tasso*, with Easter *Faust*, an achievement only possible in this seclusion. . . . This working up of my older pieces is a wonderful benefit to me. It is a recapitulation of my life and of my art, and while I am compelled to go back and mould myself and my present mode of thinking, my modern manner after my former one, to develop anew what I had only sketched, I learn to know myself aright and my limitations and amplitudes. . . . If it is permitted here to add as a conclusion a wish which

¹ *Zweiter Römischer Aufenthalt*, the entry immediately above the date Nov. 24, 1787.—TR.

I have for that time [after his return to Weimar], it would be this :—To traverse your collective dominions immediately after my return, as a stranger, that I may criticise your provinces with altogether fresh eyes and as one habituated to gazing on land and the world. I should, as is my fashion, make a new image and gain a complete notion, and qualify myself anew, as it were, for every kind of service to which your goodness and confidence destine me. If Heaven second my wishes, I will thenceforth for some time devote myself exclusively to administration as now to the arts. I have been long groping and experimenting, it is time to lay hold and to act efficiently." The Duke was forced to smile when, in reading this letter, he came on the sudden flash of longing to re-enter the Government again. Goethe might without further ceremony take permission as accorded.

The interest above mentioned in the comic opera had not remained without result. On August 14, 1787, Goethe communicates to Kayser the plan of a new comic opera; the material he found in the famous incident of the Diamond Necklace, which, says Goethe, seems to have actually occurred for the purpose of being made into an *opera buffa*. Kayser shall see by the mechanism of this opera that Goethe has learned something in Italy, and that he now understands better how to subordinate the poetry to the music. In an earlier part of the letter Goethe speaks of sending *Egmont* in manuscript to Kayser. "Would you then compose, say, the symphony, the *entr'actes*, the songs, and some passages of the fifth act which require music; thus your setting could appear with this addition, the public would grow used to seeing your name side by side with mine, and it would perhaps pave the way for our opera." One may note how intent Goethe was on helping his friend.

Nor were his botanical theories forgotten at this period.

He was deeply interested by a gilliflower, out of the primary blossom of which four other blossoms had grown. He made an exact sketch of the flower, seeing in it a triumph for his theory, and in doing this he gained more and more insight into the fundamental idea of metamorphosis.¹ On the 17th of May 1787 Goethe had written from Naples to Herder:—"Further, I must confide to you that I am very near the mystery of plant generation and organisation, and that it is the simplest thing imaginable."

On the 23d of August 1787 Goethe writes:—"Now at last the Alpha and Omega of all that we know, the human form,² has seized me and I have seized it and I say, 'I will not let thee go except thou bless me, even though I become lame in the strife.' The sketching will not suffice here, and accordingly I have made up my mind to modelling, and that seems to get on." Goethe's intimacy with the sculptor Trippel was now of importance in this connection. Trippel was commissioned by the Prince of Waldeck to produce a marble bust of Goethe (a picture of which we give as frontispiece to vol. i.), and during the preliminary modelling Goethe enjoyed the most instructive intercourse. Goethe believed now that he had discovered the principle of the ancient sculptors;³ he sketched a little alabaster head in order to test this, and people could not believe that the sketch was his.⁴ The perfect works of art, of which there are too few, now began to seem to him "the highest of Nature's works, produced by human beings

¹ *Zweiter Römischer Aufenthalt*, July 1787, "*Störende Naturbetrachtungen*;" also Goethe to Knebel, August 18, 1787, October 3, 1787.—TR.

² Compare "I am now thoroughly engaged in the study of the human form, which is the *non plus ultra* of all human knowing and doing." *Zweiter Römischer Aufenthalt*, January 10, 1788.—TR.

³ *Zweiter Römischer Aufenthalt*, September 6, 1787.—TR.

⁴ *Ibid.*, September 15, 1787.—TR.

according to true and natural laws; all that is arbitrary, all that is the creation of fancy, perishes; here is Necessity, here is God."¹

On September 5, 1787, *Egmont* was at length perfected. On the 14th of September Goethe writes:—" *Erwin und Elmire* is already half rewritten, I have tried to give the piece more interest and life, and have thrown out altogether the very flat dialogue." On October 4 Goethe received—beside the continuation of that "most precious Evangel,"² Herder's *Ideen*—the first four volumes of his own *Works*. Neither the paper nor the type pleased him, and there were many printer's errors and omissions.³

A very joyous letter is that which Goethe wrote to Kayser (September 11, 1787) on receiving word that the composer meant to come to Rome soon in order to bring out his opera in person. "Drive straight to my quarters when you arrive, I will put you up for a while. . . . You are giving me a great pleasure, and you shall grow healthy and merry in this country, as I have grown. You shall in no foreign land find yourself so at home as here in Rome living with me." A few months later Goethe gives a right cheery account of the domestic establishment of which we have heard him thus invite Kayser to become one: "Our old woman cooks, our old man crawls about, the hindering maid-servant does far more gabbling than work, a man-servant, who is an ex-Jesuit, mends our clothes and waits table, and the kitten brings in many larks' heads which are often eaten."⁴ At this time, too, the son of the landlord

¹ *Zweiter Römischer Aufenthalt*, September 6.—TR.

² *Ibid.*, Goethe to Herder, Castel Gandolfo, October 12, 1787.—TR.

³ Goethe to Göschen enclosed in a letter to Seidel of date October 28, 1787, then forwarded by Seidel. See on this matter letters of Göschen and Bertuch lately published in the *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, Band ii.—TR.

⁴ Goethe to Fritz Stein, February 16, 1788.—TR.

lived in the house. Bury and Schütz remained good comrades, for whom Goethe faithfully cared; indeed, he writes to the Duke, January 25, 1788—"My existence has again run into a regular *Wilhelmia*de;" he was like Wilhelm Meister, burthened with the fortunes of strangers.

On September 25, 1787, Goethe and a few artists went to Reiffenstein's villa at Frascati, where "all day and on into the night went on painting, drawing in Indian ink, glueing, trade and art in fact *ex professo*."¹ In the evenings they would go to see the villas in the moonlight, and note the most striking motives. As the Duchess Amalia meant to come to Italy next year, Goethe talked with Reiffenstein of the arrangements necessary. The Duchess had proposed at first to come in the present year; from this Goethe had dissuaded her. He alleged valid reasons for delay, but he had, besides, a personal motive. The presence of a circle of friends would have narrowed Rome to him, and done away with the peculiar benefit of a life among strangers and strange surroundings.²

On October 7, 1787, Goethe betook himself to the *Villegiatura* at Castel Gandolfo, where he stayed at the hospitable, thronged house of the Englishman Jenkins, a dealer in art objects. Goethe found that Angelika also was at Castel Gandolfo. Her beneficial influence remained ever the same. As to his landscape-painting, what Angelika said was so flattering that he might not repeat it. He had given up his thought of going to Naples to study under Hackert, especially as Angelika did him so much good in every way.³ A Milan maiden came with two Roman ladies—a mother and daughter

¹ *Zweiter Römischer Aufenthalt*, Frascati, September 28, 1787.—TR.

² *Ibid.*, October 5, 1787; also the *Bericht* for October 1787, final page or two; and Goethe to Karl August, November 17, 1787.—TR.

³ See Düntzer's edition of *Die Italiänische Reise*, pp. 864-5.

well known to Goethe—to spend a week at the gay and bustling spot. Goethe was attracted by the naturalness, the simple and unpretending ways, of the Milan girl, as opposed to the dignified bearing of the Roman ladies, demanding homage. So he drew very near her, gave her lessons in English; but the love thus budding was suddenly checked by the intelligence that she was already betrothed. He felt a good deal of pain, yet soon mastered it. Though he liked making the acquaintance of so many people in such an easy way at Castel Gandolfo, the life of disquiet there soon palled. On October 21, 1787, he came back to Rome. Here he reviewed the sketches he had been making in the country, and began a completely new development of *Claudine*. He writes on October 27:—"I have again entered this magic circle [Rome], and immediately I feel as though again bewitched—content, silently working away, forgetting all that is external to me; and the forms of friends come in peaceful and friendly visitings."

An altogether new life begins with Kayser's arrival in Rome, at the close of October 1787. A piano was procured immediately; trying and tuning, and placing this piano, and arranging about Kayser's lodging, took some time, and Goethe had himself to prepare for change. Tischbein having announced his return to be close at hand, either at the time of Kayser's settlement or soon after it, Goethe engaged the second story again. Kayser's interpretation of his own opera delighted Goethe; moreover, he was glad to observe the thoroughness and earnestness of the young composer, his kindly and natural ways in intercourse. Writing on November 17, 1787, Goethe tells the Duke:—"Through him [Kayser] I for the first time enjoy the Italian music, because of course nothing in the world is enjoyed aright without genuine inward knowledge."

In the same letter Goethe mentions how, a few days before, he has sent to Weimar, to the Duchess Amalia, an Italian, who would be a kind of Maître Jacques to the Duchess, would look after the mechanism of her journey to Italy, and would be a source of information always at hand. This Italian was the son of Goethe's landlord. Further on in the same letter, Goethe speaks of politics, in which he feels lively interest. "To me it seems a grave matter for friend and foe that France is so far from her old power. If, on the one hand, the plans of the Prussian-English-Orange Alliance are more easily carried out; on the other, Catherine and Joseph have an unfettered game, and can, mayhap in a moment, establish an enormous preponderance southwards and eastwards, while the States of the north and west, and here I include France, are at variance with each other. Writing from these regions, I can say that in silence and among individuals Russia and the Kaiser are feared, and it is believed that the Kaiser can, under no conditions, favour those vast expectations and designs of Catherine on Constantinople, unless the possession of Italy be guaranteed to some descendant of his house. This is certain, that the States of the Church and the two Sicilies could, like Holland, be seized without drawing a sword. Let a couple of ships of the line be stationed in the Gulf of Naples, and two of the gates of Rome be beaten in, and the thing is done. From various symptoms, I believe that the Papal and Neapolitan Courts are on the scent of some such design, though the general public dreams nothing of it. The people are discontented, especially the ecclesiastics; the monks are inclined to the Kaiser. Only yesterday said an old monk of seventy, 'If I could but see it in my old days, the Kaiser coming and hunting us all from our convents; even religion would be a gainer.'"

Yet what at this time is most noteworthy is the extraordinary fascination which the human form exercised over Goethe. Writing a little later (January 25, 1788) to the Duke, he describes how first he drew the head and its parts, and thus began for the first time to understand the antiques. So passed November and December 1787, and in January 1788 he passed to the human body. His old studies of osteology and anatomy were very useful, and in the third week of January he finished with the human hand.

To the Sunday regularly spent with Angelika was now added one evening every week, on which he saw her. She remained always the same true friend to whom he could completely unbosom himself; she almost filled the place of Charlotte. In the beginning of December 1787 Herder's translation of the Skaldic *Zaubergespräch Angantýrs und Hervors* was prepared for representation by Kayser. Drawing continued to be diligently practised. In the evenings he studied perspective. In the second week of December, feeling rather wearied and unable to do any work, Goethe went on a short walking tour in the loveliest weather, through the volcanic range that extends from Frascati to Nemi. At this time the younger Camper¹ was in Rome; he promulgated his father's views on the culture of man and the Greek ideal in art. Goethe writes on January 10, 1788:—"The younger Camper is a *Strudelkopf*, who knows much, apprehends easily, and skims over things."

On December 21, 1787, Goethe replies to Herder:—"My drawing, and art study is an aid to the poetic faculty, not a hindrance; for one should and must write only a little, draw a great deal. I would that I could only communicate

¹ Gilles Adrian Camper, son of Peter Camper, the great Dutch anatomist. See Düntzer's edition of *Die Italiänische Reise*, p. 900, footnote. (*Strudelkopf* = a hot-headed, hasty fellow.)—Tr.

to you the notion of plastic art which I have now; subordinated as it is, it is delightful, because it is true and ever points onwards." On December 25, 1787, he writes:—"The splendour of the great works of art dazes me no more;¹ I walk now in light (*Anschauen*), in genuine discriminating knowledge. How much in this matter I owe to a silent, solitary, diligent Swiss named Meyer, I cannot say. He first it was who opened my eyes as to detail as to the properties of individual forms, who initiated me into the actual *Making*." (Meyer had been one of the party in which Goethe went to see the statues of the Capitol and the Vatican by torchlight. Goethe has inserted in the *Zweiter Römischer Aufenthalt* a paper of Meyer's in which it is pointed out how many statues are only by this means to be seen in the proper illumination.²) Farther on in the letter of December 25, Goethe says:—"Meyer has a heavenly clearness of conception, and an angelic goodness of heart. . . . In his companionship, in the course of time, I hope to come to a degree of excellence in drawing which I myself dare hardly think of." But Bury too had helped him not a little. The letter which we have been quoting says farther on:—"Yes, I must say, I have had a great deal of spoiling in matters of morality this year. Altogether cut off from society, I have for a time stood alone. Now a narrow circle of friends has again formed around me, all of them good, all *on the right path*; and this is now the token, that they can endure to be with me, they like me, find happiness in my presence the more they, both in thought and action, are on the right path. For I have no mercy for, no patience with, any who dawdle or stray on their path, and yet desire to pass for messengers or travellers. . . . Two men

¹ See p. 13.—TR.

² See on this party Düntzer in his edition of *Die Italiänische Reise*, pp. 889-890.—TR.

there are who thank me for the change wrought in mind and life—ay, three [Moritz, Bury, and Kniep]¹—and will continue to thank me until they die.”

Goethe's only source of disquiet at this time (the close of December 1787) was in the objections raised by his Weimar friends to many things in *Egmont*. He was consoled to find that Angelika had a much tenderer and finer feeling than Charlotte and Herder for that which he had desired to bring out in his portrayal of the hero. About the 8th of December 1787, Goethe had written to Seidel:—“The high opinion of my brain, which they profess in Weimar, I hope to combat as Sophocles refuted a like complaint: he wrote his *Œdipus at Colonos*, and—though I will not exactly compare my *Egmont* with that masterpiece—the play will be enough to convince the public that I am still in my senses.”

Having finished his study of the human head, he began in January 1788, as before mentioned, to draw the other parts of the human form; on January 24 he finished by drawing the hand. Probably to this month falls the beginning of a connection which he formed with a beauty who was perhaps in the first instance his model. In this he but conformed to the pretty general custom of artists living in Rome. When Herder was in Rome, Goethe said playfully to Herder's wife that her husband would not be happy there until he fell in love.² Had not Goethe himself enjoyed there the most splendid life, while this happiness in love lasted.³ The

¹ Compare *Zweiter Römischer Aufenthalt*, March 15, 1788 (the close), and Düntzer's note.—TR.

² Compare—

“Eine Welt zwar bist Du, o Rom! doch ohne die Liebe
Wäre die Welt nicht die Welt, wäre denn Rom auch nicht Rom.”

Römische Elegien, I.—TR.

³ *Zweiter Römischer Aufenthalt*, March 15, 1788.—TR.

poetry of the Roman "triumvirs of love,"¹ Catullus, Tibullus, and Propertius, and of Horace and Ovid, had probably long ere this been read by Goethe, who would seek by them to make old Rome live to him again. In the *Römische Elegien* this Roman love of Goethe's is a sort of glorified background. We know nothing of the personality of his mistress; she is said to have been of no exceptional beauty,² she must however have had no small power of captivating, as she afterwards became the wife of a wealthy English settler in Rome, and ruled him skilfully.

In the very beginning of this blossoming of sensual love came a letter from the Duke (by courier on January 24) which expressed the desire that Goethe would await the arrival of the Duchess Amalia, and be her guide in the land now so familiar to him. The Duchess's visit to Italy had ere this been fixed to take place in the summer of 1788. Goethe was much disquieted by this proposal, and the more because he could not openly object to it. He replied at length the next day, January 25, 1788. If he is to stay later than Easter, when he will have attained all that is at present his object in Rome, he will subordinate the rest of his existence to the duty of serving the Duchess. "It will at first seem strange, and yet as concerns the future will be salutary to be compelled again to live among all kinds of men." Earlier in the letter he writes:—"Hitherto I have

¹ The last lines of No. V. of the *Römische Elegien* are:—

"Amor schüret die Lamp' indess und denket der Zeiten
Da er den nämlichen Dienst *seinen Triumvirn* gethan."

Joseph Scaliger called Catullus, Tibullus, and Propertius *triumviri amoris*. See also *Zweiter Römischer Aufenthalt*, the account of the Arcadian Academy.—TR.

² By Wilhelm von Humboldt. For a brief abstract of what is known of this matter, see *Goethe's lyrische Gedichte Erläutert von Heinrich Düntzer*, iii. 46.—TR.

resisted all who would fain draw me into society, because my first care was for the main interests of my own being, because society does not give but takes, and because I daily feel greater dislike to doing things by halves. But now I will equip myself, hire a servant, get better quarters ; in fine, make such personal arrangements that I can publicly appear as your minister, and nothing lacking the fitting dignity. First I will visit Cardinal Herzan and the Senator [of Rome], then go to the Cardinal Secretary of State [Buoncompagni] and Cardinal Bernis. With this¹ the sluices are lifted and the rest follows of itself. I will devote the month of April [1788] altogether to this expansion (*Ausbreitung*), for I must inure myself again to it, and treat the life of intercourse with many men, no less than the retired life, as a study and an exercise. . . . As to my outlay, let the following serve for an account. I have been all along drawing the sum for which I have to thank your kindness and thoughtfulness, and, after deduction of what my living from day to day costs, have spent it on travel, in which also I have used up 1000 thalers that the first four volumes of my works brought in. Living as I have done, I should have come off at a cheaper rate, but that my existence has again run into a regular *Wilhelmiade*. . . . My Easter quarter and the produce of the fifth volume had been meant to pay for my return journey, and I should have resumed my old house-keeping at Weimar without the smallest hitch." He goes on to say that he will continue to pay away his salary and the money brought by his works, and will only ask the Duchess Amalia for what is needed above this, "that I may remain unembarrassed (*rein*) and without anxiety." Farther on he says :—"I repeat it again, should you find me necessary on your return to Weimar, I am ready to come at any hint. Very many things make going home attractive to me. Living

¹ Reading *Somit* not *So weit*.—TR.

apart from intercourse with you, apart from intercourse with tried friends, is a matter to consider. In a foreign land the heart, I perceive, fast grows cold and hard because there is so seldom any loving and trusting. I have gained so much in knowledge of art and of nature, that a further study would be much lightened by the neighbourhood of our Academy Jena."

"Next week," writes Goethe, in the letter from which we have been quoting, "the chief statues and paintings of Rome shall be viewed with eyes washed clear." In the *Korrespondenz* for February 1788, we find him, besides, pushing on with *Claudine*, and considering the contents of the three final volumes of his works. On the 5th of February the Carnival of 1788 terminated. The displeased feeling which the festival aroused in Goethe in 1787 was now replaced by the interest of the student and artist. He noted the several incidents and asked Georg Schütz to make coloured sketches of the masks. He hoped to publish a description of the Carnival with illustrations.¹ On one of the days of tumult Goethe saw Angelika's carriage on the Corso, and went up to it to greet his friend. He was surprised to find her accompanied by the sweet young Milan maiden of Castel-Gandolfo memory. Since we last saw her she has had trouble—her betrothed has proved faithless, and she has been very ill in consequence. Goethe had shown a tender interest in her welfare during her illness, and she now thanked him for it. He went away full

¹ *Das Römische Karneval*, with illustrations, appeared in 1789. Goethe printed it, without the illustrations and the passages having reference to them, in the 1792 edition of his works. In 1829 Goethe, when preparing his *Zweiter Römischer Aufenthalt*, placed the essay on the Carnival after the *Bericht* for January 1788, and before the *Korrespondenz* for February. See Düntzer's edition of *Die Italiänische Reise*, pp. 475 and 924, and Strehlke's Introduction to *Das Römische Karneval*, Hempel's *Goethe*, xvi. 291-6.—TR.

of silent content, and of gratitude to Angelika for her delicate and generous goodness to the maiden. On February 9, 1788, he sent off the last act of *Claudine*, and thus was done with the fifth volume of his works. He now let the three others alone for a while. At this time he wrote to Angelika:—"It seems as if in the *Studio de' Tedeschi incontro al Rondanini* we are going from one extreme to the other. Last week we drew men as God made them, and this week we want to clothe them from head to foot in steel and iron." Moreover, when writing to the Duke on January 25, he had announced his intention of beginning some sketches of landscape, and of drawing and colouring some perspective views (*veduti*). On February 16 he writes to Fritz Stein:—"You wrote lately about the grave of a Miss Gore in Rome. One evening a few days ago, when I had gloomy thoughts, I sketched mine at the Pyramid of Cestius."¹ On March 1 he writes that he has been indulging in all sorts of speculation as to colours, and we learn elsewhere² that Angelika gave valuable aid. Thus, as he asserted blue to be no colour, she painted a little landscape without any blue.

During the later part of February 1788 the plans of *Faust* and *Tasso* were thought over and perfected. Nay, in the noble environment of the Borghese Garden, a new scene of *Faust* was written—the madly humorous *Hexenküche* scene. As his return to Germany was in prospect—Herder and Charlotte were urging earnestly for it—he went once more over all in Rome that was of most significance, and saw much that was new to him besides. He made several acquaintances of distinction. One was the Senator of Rome, who, having come back from Germany lately, had called to see Goethe. In the

¹ August Goethe was buried near the Pyramid of Cestius in 1830.—TR.

² In the *Confession des Verfassers*, appended to Goethe's *Geschichte der Farbenlehre*.—TR.

second week of March 1788, after careful study of the bones and muscles, Goethe modelled a foot with success. On most Sundays the music of the Sixtine Chapel was enjoyed.

On March 15, 1788, in the midst of the stir of Passion Week in Rome, Goethe received a letter from the Duke which relieved him of the duty of awaiting the Duchess Amalia and conducting her Italian journey. The Duke had perceived how unwelcome the office of *Reisemarschall* was to his friend. Goethe writes, March 17, 1788 :—"To your cordial, friendly letter I at once cheerily reply 'I come!'" After speaking of the plan of his return-journey he goes on :—"Since with these objects in view I cannot be in Weimar before the middle of June, I would add one request—that you will grant me, while present, the leave from duty which you have already granted me had I decided to stay away. My desire—with this strange, unsubduable spirit of mine, that even in perfect freedom and in the moment of enjoying the earnestly desired good fortune, has brought me many a grief—my desire is, at your side, among your subjects, in your land,¹ to *find myself again*, to cast up the account of my travel, and to clasp in the last three volumes of my *Works* the mass of many memories of life and meditations on art. I can say, to be sure : 'In this eighteen months' solitude I *have* found myself'; but in what sense? As an artist ! All that I am over and above the artist you will criticise and be of use to. By your continuous (*fortdauerndes*) active life you, as I can see by every one of your letters, have been always widening and rendering finer the prince's knowledge of the uses that can be made of men ; I submit myself gladly to this judgment. Receive me as a guest, let me by your side fill out the whole measure of my existence and enjoy life, and thus my force will be like a new-opened, concentrated, purified

¹ "Mich an ihrer Seite, mit den Ihrigen, in dem Ihrigen, wiederzufinden."—TR.

water-spring, easy to guide from its source here or there as you desire." The Duke wished that Goethe, in order to remain in steady connection with the Chamber of Finance, should be authorised to attend its meetings from time to time as his business permitted, and that he should then occupy the chair placed at such meetings for the Duke. As to this Goethe writes further on in the same letter :—"The relation in which you wish me to stand towards the Chamber of Finance is, I repeat, so honourable, that in accepting it I shall feel shame at my own unworthiness, as in refusing it I should feel myself arrogant."

Karl August found fault with some things in *Egmont*. Goethe writes, March 28, 1788 :—"Remarks such as those in your last letter are indeed not very consoling for the author, for the man, however, they are very weighty ; and he who has not divided these two lives in himself knows how to treasure and use such memories." At the close of this letter he mentions that *Lila* and *Jery und Bätely* are ready. The little poems had been written down afresh in a collection, and so all that remained to be done during the coming winter was *Faust*, as he hoped to complete *Tasso* during the summer of 1788.¹ Although he feels a very special longing to be at work on *Faust*, he cannot repress the sigh, "May I but succeed in performing half what I wish and hope." On April 11, 1788, Karl August appointed *Geheimerath* Schmidt to be President of the Chamber of Finance, summoned Voigt to be a member of the Chamber, and formally proclaimed that Goethe should take in the Chamber the position of honour already spoken of.

The last days in Rome, like all last days, were very sad.²

¹ On February 16 Goethe writes to the Duke that "the hill *Tasso* and the mountain *Faust*" are nearly all that he has not done with.—TR.

² Goethe, after his return to Weimar, told Herder's wife that during the last fortnight in Rome he had cried like a child.—TR.

He writes on April 10, 1788 :—"I am still in Rome—in the body, not in the spirit. Once I had made up my mind to departure I felt no more interest, and I should have been glad to get away a fortnight ago. In truth, I only remain for the sake of Kayser and of Bury. The former has still some studies to finish, which he can make only in Rome, has still some *musicalia* to collect ; the other has to perfect a sketch for a painting of my designing, and in this needed my counsel." On April 11 he writes again :—"The days pass, and I can do nothing more. I can indeed scarcely bear to go look at anything. My trusty Meyer stands to me still, and I enjoy to the last his instructive society." Modelling and botanical speculation occupied him until the end. In the garden of Angelika's house he sowed a pine-seedling of his own rearing ; it grew and flourished many years, and travellers told Goethe of it, until, after Angelika's death, the new possessors of the house destroyed it. Some little date-palms, likewise raised by Goethe from seeds, were more fortunate. They were planted by "a Roman friend" in the garden of the Villa Malta, on the Pincian Hill, a garden bordering on Angelika's, frequently visited by Goethe, probably indeed already selected as the residence of the Duchess Amalia. King Ludwig of Bavaria saw these palms when they had grown to a man's height. One of them is still living.¹

Very bitter was parting from one who had grown into his life as Angelika. Bury, too, he left behind with great pain ; Moritz, who owed a great deal to Goethe, was to visit him in Weimar when returning to Berlin. In his visits of farewell, the young Milan maiden was not forgotten. He had been hearing of her growth in intimacy with Angelika, and other good things, and indeed she occupied no unimportant place in his thoughts. The parting was very affectionate. We do

¹ See Düntzer's edition of *Die Italiänische Reise*, pp. 953-4.—TR.

not know whether the connection with the Roman mistress was dissolved now or earlier in the spring.

When, on the last night in Rome, he passed with a few friends under the full moon through the massive lights and deep shadows to visit Capitol and Colosseum for the last time, he felt strange, deep emotion. Again, as so often before, the northern barbarian owed a measureless debt to the Eternal City. Yet Goethe did not then think that he was to see Rome no more. On April 22, 1788, in the most sorrowful agitation, he set out northwards with Kayser by his side.

The poetic companion of his journey was *Tasso*. In the public gardens of Florence he wrote passages which afterwards would recall that peculiar agitation. Florence was thoroughly explored on this visit. On May 6, 1788, Goethe tells the Duke that almost all the art treasures of the city have been visited. From Milan, on May 23, he writes:—"The parting from Rome has cost me more than is right and fitting for my years; however, I have not been able to master my spirit, and on the journey have left myself complete freedom, and accordingly I have, every hour, at least seven changes of mood." Earlier in the letter he writes:—"Yesterday I was at the cathedral, to erect which a whole mountain of marble has been forced into the most tasteless forms. The poor stones are still daily tortured, for the madness is yet far from its period—poverty of thought, indeed, rather than madness." The passion for mineralogy awoke again. On May 24 Goethe tells Knebel that he is going to buy a hammer and break pieces from the rock on his homeward journey, in order to drive away "the bitterness of death" [the pain of moving farther and farther from Rome]. At Constanz, in the beginning of June, he was dreadfully disappointed to read in Schubart's *Vaterlandschronik* that Herder had gone to Italy with Canon Dalberg. Immediately after this announcement, our

poet read the following discerning praise :—"Goethe also, one of the most brilliant stars in Germany's crown, has made a vast impression in Italy. He entered the best circles, adorned with German force and the dignity of German genius, and everywhere his great knowledge, his deep perception of the beautiful, and his noble bearing were admired." It was not true that Herder had gone to Italy.

Ere leaving Rome, Goethe had given up the thought of visiting his mother and his brother-in-law Schlosser on his return ; his longing for Weimar was intense. By Augsburg, Nürnberg, Gotha, and Erfurt, he travelled ; and at length, at ten o'clock, June 18, 1788, as he had bidden farewell to Rome beneath a full moon, beneath a full moon entered the little capital on the Ilm, that was now grown so dear.

[NOTE.—Goethe's Last Night in Rome.—Near the close of Goethe's *Zweiter Römischer Aufenthalt*, he writes :—"Three nights before my departure the full moon shone in the clearest of skies," and then goes on to speak of the magic charm of the great city and its influence on their minds. Then in a new paragraph he begins :—"After days spent distractedly, some painfully, I made the round of the city with a few friends once through a perfect solitude." Herr Prof. Düntzer believes that this was on *the* last night, though not so stated with exactness. I think that most who examine the passage must agree with him.—TR.]



BOOK VI.

HOUSE AND HOME

1788—1794



CHAPTER I.

FROM GOETHE'S RETURN FROM ITALY TO THE BIRTH OF HIS
SON. *THE RÖMISCHE ELEGIEN—TASSO.*

JUNE 1788—DECEMBER 1789.

AFTER an absence of nearly two years (September 1786—June 1788), Goethe returned to Charlotte von Stein with the old, true love, of firm purpose to live a life of close union of heart and soul with her and her Fritz. We have seen how, throughout his sojourn in Italy, he had frequently had the boy in his thoughts. Yet intellectually and spiritually he was a new man. He was now an Artist, penetrated with the sensuous apprehension of life, fresh, clear, objective in treatment; he had attained a new stand-point, a higher insight. And Charlotte had not advanced, and the only change was, that she had grown older-looking in the interval. In Goethe's eyes she sought in vain the old, passionate yearning; she was disconcerted and dismayed by their new, strong, beaming gaze. She felt that he needed consolation and advice from her no longer; and it wounded her that even by her side he could not suppress the longing for the south, that in rude, gloomy Thüringen, in the petty capital of a German Duchy, he missed Italy and Rome. She grew cold and reserved, she nourished bitterness, she reproached him for want of sym-

pathy — whom her frigidity was repelling ! She jealously observed his demeanour and his actions, to find by them her suspicions of his falseness justified. She was physically ailing, and she brooded on gloomy dreams. Add to all this that Goethe, in the first days at Weimar, drawn hither and thither by the most diverse claims, especially on the part of the Court, could give her but little of his time ; while the cordiality of his friends made Charlotte's coldness the more striking. Twelve days after Goethe's return, she writes to her sister-in-law (who had gone on June 24 to Karlsbad), that she (Charlotte) had been with the Duchess, Herder, and Herder's wife, at Goethe's house, where they had been shown engravings from Claude Lorraine, and gems :—"We had not been long with him when Knebel too came in, and thus our old group was again assembled ; hardly, I believe, with the old spirit."

Goethe was now free from the thralldom of business ; he did not even attend the Council. In the Commission of Mines alone he took a lively interest. It was, unfortunately, just then necessary to put up an hydraulic engine in order to drain the mine of water that had broken out in the previous year. To the Duke Goethe was the old bosom-friend, with whom to take continual counsel, to whom to entrust many commissions which implied special confidence. Thus on Goethe was laid the task of reform in the University of Jena, and he soon after engaged in it, aided by C. G. Voigt, who had proved himself an invaluable man of business.

On the 6th of July 1788 the English family Gore, who already in 1787 had visited the Court of Weimar, came for the second time. Charles Gore had succeeded his father in a large mercantile house, and now, having retired from business, went travelling with his daughters.¹ He and his daughters

¹ Goethe has prefixed to the Life of Philipp Hackert a notice of the life of Charles Gore ; see Hempel's *Goethe*, xxxii. 20-25.—TR.

Elise and Emilie were remarkable for fine culture and a feeling for art. But Goethe now found their views in Ethics and on Art so limited that, in a certain sense, he found talking with them impossible.¹ The Duke felt a passionate attraction to Emilie; Elise had a warm heart for Goethe. Meanwhile Charlotte's coldness and rancour were making Goethe extremely unhappy. The more she held aloof the more irresistibly did he feel how wide a gulf was fixed between them through the difference in age and the change in his views. He felt himself bound to her by gratitude, and by his promise to live in union with her and her Fritz, but her trust, through which alone the relation was possible, had given place to its opposite. It was a dreadful overthrow of hope.

At this juncture it happened that the poet, driven to despair by Charlotte's coldness, met and fell in love with a maiden of humble rank. Christiane Sophie Vulpius, then just turned two and twenty, was the daughter of the *Amtsarchivar* Johann Friedrich Vulpius, dead since March 1786. Some years before his death Vulpius had had to give up his post. The girl was a winsome little blonde with beautiful blue eyes, a pretty nose, pouting lips, a round full face, and long fair hair. The story runs, that she met Goethe in the Park and handed him a petition from her brother. This brother, Christian August Vulpius, two years older than Christiane, after studying law, history, and diplomacy at Jena, had begun trying to support himself and two sisters by authorship; he had printed some tales, beside poems. When Goethe, who gave him some aid, was away in Italy, Vulpius had been compelled to accept the post of secretary to the Circle Ambassador von Soden in Nürnberg, a man who had also made his appearance as a poet. As von Soden, ostensibly because he could get a more suitable secretary, dismissed Vulpius, the young fellow sought

¹ Goethe to Charlotte von Stein, August 12, 1788.—TR.

help from his former patron, of whose return from Italy he heard. It is said that Goethe, at an earlier time, had seen Christiane in Bertuch's flower-manufactory, where she was remarkable among the other women and girls employed by her youthful freshness, but drew Goethe's attention especially by



FIG. 2. Christiane Vulpius. From a photograph of an Indian ink drawing.²

her smart reply to his companion, the Darmstadt prince, who asked her what flowers bloomed under her hand. Goethe probably established Christiane in his *Gartenhaus*. All we know is that on Sunday, July 13, 1788, not four weeks from the day of his return, he concluded his marriage of conscience with her.¹

Goethe was completely captivated by her personal charms,

her amiability, her Thüringian *naïveté*, and by her evident happiness in having won the love of the great man whom she

¹ We know this from the last words of Goethe's letter to Schiller, July 13, 1796 :—" *Heute erlebe ich auch eine eigne Epoche ; mein Ehestand ist eben 8 Jahre und die französische Revolution 7 Jahre alt.*" This passage Goethe omitted when preparing his correspondence with Schiller for publication in 1824. See p. 144.—Tr.

² Prof. Düntzer cannot tell the exact date of this drawing. It belongs to Christiane's later years, and gives no notion of the young girl who met Goethe in the Park.—Tr.

had looked on as so far above her. Probably the memory of his Roman amour also played through his joyous intoxication. Yet anticipation of the storm which the discovery, at length, of his secret would call forth, and the thought of that promise to Charlotte, now broken by his marriage, were certainly sources of great disquietude; while the endeavour to betray his fortune in no wise by his personal bearing was a dissimulation very opposite to his nature. He had written a friendly letter to Christiane's brother, promising to use influence on his behalf. This promise was fulfilled, only Goethe kept Vulpius from coming to Weimar.¹

Externally the relation to Charlotte still subsisted in so far that Goethe occasionally visited her, and they paid each other little attentions; but Fritz Stein, though with Goethe a good deal, was no longer an inmate of his house. On July 20, 1788, Charlotte, when sending something, begs for a visit. Goethe replies that he will try to get away from Court betimes in the afternoon, and will besides call for a moment in the morning early. "Gladly will I hear all you have to say to me, only I must beg you not to judge too rigidly my distracted—I will not say shattered being. You will understand when I say that my inner self is not as my external semblance."² Before she left for Kochberg on July 22, Charlotte sent Goethe a breakfast, and commended Fritz to his care. "Fritz shall be dear to me," Goethe replies. "I am always glad of his presence, and to be any use to him. . . . May you be happy and very strong in quiet Kochberg." He says not a word which implies desire to visit Charlotte in Kochberg; he only lays stress on the dreariness of life in

¹ See on Vulpius Goethe's letters to Jacobi, September 9, October 3, and October 31, 1788.—TR.

² "Dir darf ich wohl sagen, dass mein Inneres ist nicht wie mein Aeusseres."—TR.

Weimar. "I will live on as I can, though it is indeed a special exercise. Kayser is going away again with the Duchess [Amalia] . . . and thus I am cut off from all hope as to the beautiful art of sound. The gloomy sky swallows up all colours. Herder also is going now, and—a thousand times, farewell!" Charlotte herself tells her sister-in-law that she had delayed her setting out for Kochberg solely for the sake of Goethe and of the Gores, but both had dismissed her as if she were a stranger, and only tediousness had been exchanged between them.

On August 6, 1788, Herder started for Italy. Thus Goethe lost for a long time his best consolation and support, for Knebel was at that time extremely depressed and, moreover, had not the deep insight of Herder. With Herder Goethe had talked over the discoveries in physiognomy which he had made when considering the creation of ideal characters in plastic art,¹ and had found his clear sympathetic comprehension delightful. Goethe stood by Herder's wife as a true friend during her husband's absence. (?)

Since the previous year Weimar had had a noteworthy new resident in Charlotte von Kalb. This lady, now five and twenty, had hoped to procure in Weimar a divorce from her husband in order that she might become Schiller's wife; but there had been difficulties in the way of procuring the divorce, and Schiller's heart had found a dearer bondage. Her unhappy lot had frightened her back on herself; her emotions were violent; there was in her character a passionate precipitateness, an enthusiastic excitability, and all repelled rather than interested Goethe, which she probably perceived.

At this time Goethe was disappointed in the Duke. The military service in Prussia, which withdrew the Duke so

¹ See Goethe to Herder, December 27, 1788; see also Goethe's letter to Herder, *Zweiter Römischer Aufenthalt*, August 23, 1787.—TR.

frequently from Weimar, was a worse thing, as Goethe now came to see it, than it had appeared when viewed from the distance of Italy. Then the Duke's regardless self-abandonment to the passion for the beautiful English woman displeased Goethe, and the Duchess was bitterly mortified when Karl August persuaded the Gore family to prolong their stay in Weimar. When after this the Duke hurt his foot, Goethe had to spend the greater part of every day with him and the Duchess.¹ The Duchess showed remarkable good sense in these circumstances, and she was more friendly to Goethe than ever. Notwithstanding the hurt foot, the Duke would go to his regiment at Aschersleben, but soon had to return, and Goethe must again give up most of his time to the invalid.

The poet's mood was very variable ; now he felt happy in his love, now he was almost in despair.² Once he told Herder's wife that not affection but despair had driven him to come see her ; he had just left the Duke. On his birthday he said bitterly to her that if on that day a year ago he had received Herder's *God*,³ he this year believed in God no longer. At this time he was putting together his eighth volume—that containing the shorter poems ; he began to work

¹ See Goethe to Herder, September 4, 1788.—TR.

² For instance, Goethe writes to Herder, September 4, 1788 :—"The weather is still very gloomy, and slays my spirit : when the barometer is low, and the landscape has no colours, how can one live."

September 22 :—"Oh my brother, what evil spirit urged thee to call me back from Italy ! I could have been the entertainer, and we should have laughed at them all. May all be for the best to thee ; only for God's sake none of that easy good-nature which, pelican-like, tears her own breast to nourish bastards ! I live very strangely. Very much to myself, and await the time and the hour."—TR.

³ See Goethe's letter to Herder, *Zweiter Römischer Aufenthalt*, Rome, August 28, 1787. The full name of Herder's book is *Gott. Einige Gespräche über Spinoza's System*.—TR.

at *Tasso* without getting very far,¹ began also his essay *Die Metamorphose der Pflanzen*, and made extracts from the letters and diary of his travel to give to Wieland, with whom he was on very good terms, for the *Merkur*. The most important of these was the treatise *Einfache Nachahmung der Natur, Manier, Stil*,² in which he expresses with clearness and decision the fundamental principles of his theory of art.

On September 5, 1788, accompanied by Herder's wife, by Fritz Stein and by Charlotte's sister-in-law, Frau von Schardt, Goethe drove to Kochberg. The day was lovely. At Kochberg they were welcomed by Lotte von Lengefeld from Rudolstadt, and by Charlotte. The former, now one-and-twenty, had been known to Goethe since 1783. Charlotte treated Goethe with coldness, and this rendered him very gloomy, but also the thought of the change in himself since he had last seen Kochberg threw a dark shadow over his soul. He could not now write "*Ebenderselbe*" on Charlotte's desk.³ He showed various drawings that he had brought, and read aloud from the extracts which he had been preparing for the *Merkur*. On September 7, they drove over to Rudolstadt to visit *Oberhofmeisterin* von Lengefeld, Lotte's mother. There they found Schiller, who loved Lotte. Schiller had long been looking forward to acquaintance with Goethe, and had already greeted him through Charlotte von Stein. They had friendly talk together, both indoors and on a stroll beside the Saale, yet there was none of that intimate converse which reveals soul to soul. Goethe told with passionate love about Italy, in language "flowing, full of soul, alive." Schiller thought that they would never draw very near one another, as Goethe was so

¹ Goethe to Knebel, October 11, 1788 :—" *Tasso* advances but slowly." —TR.

² *On the simple Imitation of Nature, on Manner, on Style.* —TR.

³ See vol. i. p. 394. —TR.

much further on than he was, and besides their natures even



FIG. 3. Charlotte von Lengefeld and Friedrich Schiller. From contemporary portraits in the book *Schiller und Lotte*.

in the beginning were essentially diverse. That evening, driving back to Kochberg in the moonlight, Goethe repeated aloud

his poem *Die Geheimnisse* (which he had again taken up in order to prepare it for the eighth volume of his works), and he spoke of the plan of his *Tasso*. As they drove from Kochberg to Weimar on September 8, Schiller's *Götter Griechenlands* being the occasion, Goethe talked of the veritable ideals of the ancient sculptors in their gods and heroes; he had found the clue to these ideals, and in ten years, if he could live in Rome with an income of ten or twelve thousand thalers, he would demonstrate them.

The visit to Kochberg had cooled Goethe still more; but how happy he was in Christiane's arms. He loved the girl with such warm affection that ten years later, when on a journey, he writes to her regretting that he has with him nothing of hers, not even a slipper! A pleasant week was procured to him by a visit to Gotha with Prince August of Sachsen-Gotha, during which he succeeded in perfecting *Künstlers Apotheose*¹ for his eighth volume. And now Goethe heard with bitterness that his friend Kayser had left the Duchess Amalia, his direct, honest, and rather stiff temper having brought him into collision with some of her train. Thus Goethe might as well not have given up Kayser to the Duchess, had indeed better not, as the abrupt breach made further connection with Weimar Court impossible for the musician. At times Goethe feels so unhappy in Weimar that he only "waits the time and the hour" to leave.² By frequent short flights he sought to be rid of the inner unrest; he feared the coming storm. Towards the end of September 1788, anxiety about the mines drew him to Ilmenau; it was only with great labour that the water could be subdued. After his return he went hard to work on *Tasso*.³

¹ A pendant to *Künstlers Erdewallen*. See vol. i. p. 249.—Tr.

² Goethe to Herder, September 22, 1788. See p. 65.—Tr.

³ Goethe to Knebel, October 1, 1788:—"Nun bin ich eifrig an *Tasso*, er geht von statten." October 11:—"Tasso rückt nur sehr langsam."—Tr.

In the *Literaturzeitung* a paper on *Egmont* had appeared, which seemed to Goethe to treat the poetic side inadequately¹ (he did not know that this paper was by Schiller). Thus the two plays,² that he had laboured on with such conscientiousness and such clear artist insight, had met but small present favour; yet there was no diminution of his ardour to perfect *Tasso*, in which we read so much of Goethe's own heart's history. The pain of the alienation from Charlotte, who had once suggested the drama to him, fed the poetic flame.

In October 1788, business taking him to Jena, he spent some time there during the ingathering of the grapes in the company of the Hereditary Prince. That the Duke, through carelessness, had again a fall near Dresden, and thereupon went with the Gores to Dessau, displeased Goethe. On the other hand, a letter revealing Merck's almost mad despair moved the deepest pity in Goethe, who wrote to Merck,³ begging the fullest confidence; he had already been enlisting the Duke's help on his friend's behalf. But Goethe himself, just after receiving the letter from Merck, was so out of tune that he could perfect nothing; so, for occupation's sake, he arranged his sketches in books.⁴ Christiane's love alone brought him happiness; let the poem *Morgenklagen* witness.⁵ Charlotte von Stein now returned from Kochberg;⁶ she remained cold and reserved, accusing him of faithlessness in her heart. With the Duke, who was at length back in Weimar, Goethe spent a great deal of time, but they could not lighten each other's troubles.

¹ Goethe to Karl August, October 1, 1788.—TR.

² *Iphigenie* and *Egmont*.—TR.

³ Goethe to Merck, Jena, November 10, 1788.—TR.

⁴ Goethe to Knebel, October 25, 1788.—TR.

⁵ "O du loses leidig liebes Mädchen." Sent to Jacobi October 31, 1788.—TR.

⁶ About October 20.—TR.

The first of the Friday Assemblies fell on November 7. There Goethe, in order to avert suspicion of his secret love, put on extreme mirthfulness, and was very amiable towards the younger ladies, and thus drew on himself the anger of Charlotte's little sister-in-law, who was hostile to him already; her account is that he hardly spoke a word with any woman of discretion, but kissed every young girl's hand in turn, said pretty things to each, and danced a great deal. At heart he was very far from being what he seemed. On November 9 he went with Fritz Stein to Jena, where he stayed until November 22. He attended Loder's lectures on the muscles, learned and thought a great deal, and in order to silence the uneasiness within went to concerts and parties.¹ On November 30 he went with the Duke to Gotha Court for a few days. There he spoke to Karl August and the Gotha Minister, von Frankenberg, of appointing Schiller as Professor Extraordinary of History at Jena, a project of which Voigt and Charlotte von Stein were the eager supporters. The Duke and Frankenberg agreed, and Goethe was charged to communicate the matter to the Privy Council of Weimar.

A great joy it was when, on December 4, the day of our poet's return from Gotha, the "excellent"² Moritz arrived in Weimar to stay there eight weeks in Goethe's house. Moritz not only brought fresh life to a multitude of Roman memories, but entered with sympathy into all thoughts in pleasant, interesting converse. Goethe introduced his friend to the Duke, who was delighted with him and took lessons in English from him. Moritz was soon "the Prophet"³ of the chief Weimar ladies, of Charlotte von Stein above all, notwithstanding the deifying

¹ See Goethe's letter to Fritz Stein, November 18, 1788. Fritz had gone back soon to Weimar.—TR.

² "*Grundguter*," Goethe to Herder, December 27, 1788.—TR.

³ This is from one of Caroline Herder's letters, December 25, 1788.—TR.

reverence with which he regarded Goethe. At length Moritz's communication of his treatise, *Ueber die bildende Nachahmung des Schönen*, produced division. Charlotte with others, especially Knebel, declared against it; Schiller adopted an intermediate view.

On December 9 Goethe formally reports to the Privy Council on the matter of Schiller's professorship. The University will profit by this appointment, and the Duke favours it, observes Goethe's *Promemoria*. Schiller's "bearing is grave and courteous, and it may be credited that he will have good influence on young people." On December 11, 1788, the Duke sent forth to the three Courts, Gotha, Coburg, and Meiningen, partners with Weimar in Jena University, recommending the appointment of Schiller. On December 12 Goethe received the visit of Schiller, who had wished to meet him alone in order to derive from the interview some intellectual and spiritual profit. "In the evenings the Duke is almost always there," wrote Schiller to his betrothed, Charlotte von Lengefeld, "and in the forenoon he is besieged with business." Goethe was friendly to Schiller, and urged him not to be deterred from accepting the professorship by the fear that he was too ignorant for it; his appointment would be a gain to himself and to the University. But the alliance which Schiller hoped for was not yet to be formed; Goethe wished to be Schiller's benefactor, not his friend, and indeed felt how far apart they stood.

At this time Goethe finished his description of the Roman Carnival,¹ and laboured at *Tasso* with such zeal that he hoped to complete it ere Moritz should leave; but about the middle of January 1789 it came to a standstill. He found himself unable to celebrate the birthday of the Duchess by any poem. Meanwhile, to his other responsibilities was added that of

¹ See p. 49.—TR.

arranging for the building of a new Castle for Weimar ; his fellow-commissioners were Voigt and Wedel.

On February 1, 1789, the Duke started for Berlin with Moritz ; he did not return until three weeks had passed. Meanwhile Goethe found more joy than ever in his hidden love. On February 19 Charlotte von Stein was present at a performance of Gotter's farce, *Der Schwarze Mann*, and, strange enough, the leading incidents reminded her so strongly of Goethe's faithlessness, which had robbed her life of charm, that she was overcome with agitation, and almost became ill. She could not receive Goethe when he called to see her after the performance. When he had her explanation on the following morning, he wrote :—"It has grieved me very much that the tasteless, miserable piece has pained you so by its reminder of a dreary reality. I will expect you this evening. Let us as friends unite our joy and sorrow, that the few days of life may be happy. . . . Farewell, and love me." But how could the interview to which he looks forward here have done anything towards reconciliation ! The secret, which he could not man himself to tell her, was soon after discovered. In the first instance, it is said, through Fritz Stein, who found Christiane, a stranger to him, in the *Gartenhaus*. Herder's wife knew of it from Charlotte on March 8, 1789. Charlotte's love was now transformed to the most active bitterness ; she could not find words cruel enough to speak of Goethe's mistress. She did not know (how should she ?) what an enduring union had been formed. But Charlotte's loss was a dreadful one. Her ideal of an austere virtuous man, lifted above the common sensual needs of human nature, was gone ; gone her hope of a happy, intellectual life by the side of her supreme friend, her Fritz's second father. All the women of rank of Weimar pitied Charlotte and condemned Goethe, all except one.

The Duchess Luise judged with a larger humanity the eminent man whose noble and moral nature she had had so much occasion to prize through many years. She felt how great his suffering after his return from Italy had been, how the prolongation of the relation with Charlotte would have galled him more and more. As for Goethe, the more violent the ardour of hatred of the poor girl to whom he had vowed his faith, the more lovingly did he clasp her to himself. Wonderfully lighter he felt, too, now that his secret was out, and the storm broken that had oppressed his spirit in the coming; let it rage! The perfect rapture of his love found utterance in the *Römische Elegien*, where the background is the happiness that had been his in the Eternal City, where the model is the poetry of the Roman "Triumvirs of Love,"¹ where the inspiration is the warm throbbing of his own ecstatic heart.

The Duke heard the earlier Elegies read aloud before his departure on April 1, 1789, for Aschersleben. He had ere this, probably at Goethe's instance, appointed Fritz Stein, who was not yet sixteen, to be *Hofjunker* and *Kammerassessor*. With gladness Goethe heard that during the last few weeks Merck had rallied his spirit, and in the kindly Frankfurt circle, with Goethe's mother and Goethe's friends, again felt some happiness. During the Duke's absence more *Elegien* were written; *Tasso* progressed; a successful endeavour was made in encaustic painting (an art learned at Rome); Kraus was prompted to work at a landscape after a special method; the building of the Castle and the affairs of the University were attended to. Goethe thought at this time of going in the autumn of 1789 to join the Duchess Amalia in Italy, returning in the summer of 1790.

On April 13, 1789, the quiet was disturbed by the pre-

¹ See p. 47.—TR.

mature confinement of the Duchess, whose infant died a few minutes after birth. The Duke, who returned immediately, showed himself very good and kind, but nevertheless the Duchess's sorrow was very great. Herder being at this time invited to Göttingen University, Goethe urged that he must be kept for Jena at all cost.

Shortly after, Goethe put the finishing touch to his unpopularity. *Capellmeister* Reichardt of Berlin, the composer to *Claudine*, had announced a month before that he was about to visit the poet. Now he came,¹ and Goethe, though prepossessed against him, was so pleased with him as to receive him into his house; and this disgusted all Weimar. With Reichardt's music to *Claudine*, soon to be performed in Berlin, Goethe was delighted. The Weimar ladies were invited to hear the separate acts rehearsed, but they would only praise parts of the composition, because they hated Reichardt. When about this time Goethe received a letter of reproach from Charlotte, he replied in a tone of the greatest moderation, without approaching the main subject of her displeasure, for he was not going to give up Christiane. When Charlotte set out for the Rhine watering-places on May 5, 1789, she left behind a letter, whose sharp accusation wounded him so much that he could not summon resolution to reply.

During the time immediately following Goethe devoted himself to the Duchess, with faithful sympathy endeavouring to assuage her pain. He worked on at *Tasso*, a poem in which the Duchess felt much interest, and was as usual diligent in many occupations. Christiane's love made him very happy. His only annoyance was the delay of the architect, Arends of Berlin, who had been summoned to undertake the rebuilding of the Castle. "In the evenings I play

¹ April 23, 1789. See Düntzer, *Aus Goethe's Freundeskreise*, for an account of Goethe's relations with Reichardt.—Tr.

the host of your Promenades," writes Goethe merrily to the Duke, "and endeavour, now with tea, now with sour milk, to win the favour of the women while the men are fettered by mighty Destiny to the gaming-table."¹ The women were still bitterly hostile. Goethe interested himself in every possible way in the Hereditary Prince. They went together to Belvedere on May 20, 1789, to stay some time, Goethe hoping to finish *Tasso* there. Thither, on May 31, came Herder's wife and Charlotte von Kalb, and enjoyed the few hours spent with the poet very much. He read aloud from *Tasso*, now, at length, nearly finished. Charlotte von Kalb was deeply moved. "Pan has waked again," she said.

On June 1 Goethe could no longer put off answering that last letter from Charlotte. "How much I love you, how well I know my duty towards you and towards Fritz, I have proved by returning from Italy. If the Duke had his will, I should be there still. Herder was going thither, and as I did not foresee that I might be useful to the Hereditary Prince, I had hardly anything to regard but you and Fritz. What I have left behind in Italy, I may not repeat; you have received my confidences on that head with sufficient unfriendliness. Unfortunately, when I came back you were in a strange mood, and I confess plainly that the way in which you and others received me pained me very much. I saw Herder and the Duchess depart; I saw in the carriage an empty place that I was urged to take. I remained for the sake of my friends, as for their sake I had returned; and at that very moment I must hear it obstinately repeated that I might as well have stayed away, that I had no human sympathy, and so on. And all this, before there could be any question of a relation which seems to wound you so much. And what kind of relation is it? Who is made poorer by it? Who claims the feelings

¹ Goethe to Karl August, May 12, 1789.—Tr.

which I give to the poor thing?¹ [Observe that he does not venture on Christiane's name.] Who claims the hours that I spend with her? Ask Fritz, ask the Herders, ask every one who is intimate with me whether I am less willing to hear confidences, less willing to confide, less active for my friends than before? Whether, on the contrary, I do not now for the first time belong to them and to society aright! And it must be through a miracle, if I should have lost only the best and deepest relation of all—to thee. How vividly I have felt that it still exists, when on one occasion I found you willing to talk with me on interesting subjects. But, I confess frankly, the way in which you have hitherto treated me I cannot endure. When I was disposed to talk, you have closed my mouth; when I was communicative, you blamed me for indifference; when I was active for friends, you blamed me for coldness and neglectfulness. . . . Unhappily, for a considerable time you have despised my advice about coffee, and have adopted a regimen which is very bad for your health. As if it were not hard enough, morally, to conquer certain impressions, you strengthen the hypochondriac, torturing power of dreary imaginings by a physical agency, the harmfulness of which you have been aware of for some time, and which, out of love for me, you had avoided for a while, and with good result to your health. May the baths, the journey, do you a great deal of good. I do not altogether give up the hope that you will come to know me again. Farewell. Fritz is happy, and often visits me.”

Meanwhile Charlotte had met Goethe's mother in Frankfurt. She was greatly pleased with Frau Aja, and tells Fritz:—“I could love her right well and live with her. . . . She loves you well; write to her constantly, for to hear about her son is

¹ *Das arme Geschöpf*—not in contempt but in pity; she is so much slandered by the fine Weimar ladies.—TR.

her whole life. The ring with his head [which Fritz had sent] has delighted her extremely ; she had it on her finger." When Charlotte arrived at Wiesbaden and found no letter from Goethe awaiting her, she felt great pain. After long, almost despairing waiting, she went on to Ems, and there she received his letter of June 1. Over it she wrote O!!!

On June 7, 1789, Goethe returned to Weimar. On the 8th he wrote a second letter to Charlotte, of whose visit to Frankfurt he had heard from his mother. He acknowledges how grieved he is, in the dreary outward circumstance of Weimar, through which she, no less than he, suffers, to have added to her trouble. "Help me," he appeals to her, "that the relation to which you are adverse may not degenerate, but may remain as it is." But of what avail were all friendly words beside this distinct declaration that he could not give up Christiane. It was like mockery when he appealed to her to look at the matter "from a natural point of view." The breach was not to be healed.

Meanwhile Goethe had been treating with Arends about the Castle ; and found it delightful to have an artist near him again. He now strove to bring from Rome another artist, the draughtsman and engraver Lips. All that he could offer, indeed, was the money to pay for the journey. Lips need not, wrote Goethe, fear that he will starve on Art in Germany. When Lips declared that he would come, trusting to this assurance, Goethe replied that he could not give any pledge on the subject, and then had precise information as to the current Leipzig prices of engravings forwarded to Lips, who might make his calculations by them. Notwithstanding the heavy rain at the close of June 1789, Goethe found the time very happy in his quiet, domestic life. As he might expect to be a father at the close of the year, he gave up his plan of going to Italy in the autumn. He also desired

a larger and better house, standing in more open space, for the reason above indicated ; besides, being near Charlotte von Stein was now as unpleasant as it had once been delightful. His wish was fixed on the little *Jägerhaus* near the *Frauenthor*, where, it will be remembered, he had lived for a short time in 1776.¹ This house belonged to the Duke, but was probably tenanted at this time. Voigt seems to have arranged matters so that Goethe was able to take possession late in the autumn of 1789.

During the close of June and the early part of July 1789, Goethe was engaged in revising the two last acts of *Tasso*. He also brooded on *Faust*, which he now resolved to publish as a fragment,² even leaving the interstices between scenes unfilled. On July 5, 1789, altogether unexpectedly, he brought *Tasso* to a conclusion at Belvedere, where a few weeks ago he had been working on it so diligently. On July 6, Charlotte von Stein returned to Weimar ; she declined all intercourse with Goethe.

On July 9, 1789, Herder came back from his Italian journey. His ill-humour could not withstand the ardent friendliness of Goethe's welcome. Goethe delighted to talk with Herder about Italy, and especially to exchange thoughts on the antiques and the discovery of their ideals.³ The improvement of Herder's position in Weimar, as to which Charlotte also showed such friendly zeal, lay on Goethe's heart. The two last acts of *Tasso* were submitted to Herder, and the *Römische Elegien* were read to him. Herder praised the *Elegien*.

On July 22, Goethe went by the Duke's invitation to Wilhelmsthal Castle ; he was accompanied by the Hereditary Prince, the Prince's tutor, and Herder's boy August. At

¹ See vol. i. p. 324. ² Goethe to Karl August, July 5, 1789.—TR.

³ See p. 64.—TR.

Wilhelmsthal he spent two days modelling in wax the profile of a bearded, curly-haired Jupiter. And now he put the final touches to the last two acts of *Tasso*, which Herder had praised.¹ From the watering-place Ruhla, whither Goethe followed the Duke, he writes to Herder on August 10, 1789:—"I am very glad that *Tasso* has pleased you. . . . Now we are free from all desire to undertake any consequent composition like that. The fragmentary nature of erotic trifles pleases me better. Some more of these have been done." Earlier in the letter Goethe tells Herder that the Duke is becoming very fond of August, which is important for the boy's future. Of his own domestic longings let the following witness:—"Here we are in the land of the famed mountain nymphs, and yet I can assure you that I long earnestly for home to find again my friends and a certain little *eroticum*, whose existence your wife will probably have confided to you." Goethe returned to Weimar about a week later.

In Weimar his first efforts were directed to the final settlement in the matter of Herder, who was appointed Vice-President of the Consistory; to procuring support for young Facius as an engraver; and to the matter of bringing Meyer from Rome to Weimar. Goethe writes to Meyer, August 21, 1789:—"If you wish to stay in Rome two years more, I can promise you a hundred scudi [per annum]. . . . When the two years are over, come to us. I will see to the cost of the journey, and that you find a situation here adapted to your tastes and views (*Gemüthsart*). If I can promise you no great pension, you shall have what you need." Already in the spring of 1789 Goethe had advised Christiane's brother to go to Leipzig, and had written to Göschen on his behalf, sending him a letter through Göschen. "From Vulpius's letters," says Goethe, "I must suppose that his spirit has suffered through

his distressful lot.”¹ Writing to Göschen on June 22, 1789, Goethe recurs to Vulpius ; perhaps the publisher could employ the young man in some of the numerous branches of the book-trade ; and Goethe is prepared to contribute to his support. When, in August 1789, Vulpius had arrived in Leipzig, Goethe wrote to his old friend, J. G. Breitkopf:—“Confiding in the friendly relations of former times, I take the liberty to commend to your attention a young man who will hand you this letter. He wishes to stay in Leipzig, that he may find there better fortunes than have been his heretofore. I hope that he will not be burdensome to you. Be so kind as to allow him to see you often, and to open his mind to you. Provide him, if possible, some acquaintances and connections, that he may earn something by literary work.” Vulpius now began to print away stoutly.

The events of the autumn in France roused no sympathy in Goethe, who in this differed entirely from Gleim, Klopstock, and so many who saw in them the dawn of liberty. It was still in Goethe’s mind to treat the story of the Diamond Necklace as a *comic* opera under the title *Il Conte*, and of this project he had spoken to Reichardt. Meanwhile Reichardt had brought out *Claudine* at the Court of Berlin, and on the Crown Prince’s birthday at the National Theatre, and its reception had been very good. Beside studies in natural science, putting *Faust* in order occupied the time ; this he found a harder task than the composition of *Elegies*, which had not yet ceased. On September 15, 1789, Goethe went to Jena with the famous Freiberg mineralogist, Werner. Werner explained his new theory of volcanoes, and Goethe thought it very acute and well considered. On September 29, 1789, at the wish of the Duke, Goethe went with the Duchess and Fräulein Waldner to Aschersleben, where he could see Karl August in his military

¹ Goethe to Göschen, April 23, 1789. — TR.

splendour. The Rosstrappe was ascended during this visit. Hardly had Goethe returned to Weimar ere he started, on October 10, 1789, for Leipzig, where Vulpius was. The news of the October riots at Versailles¹ filled Goethe with horror; in them he saw what the unchained passion of a nation long oppressed may lead to. After a couple of days in Leipzig Goethe returned to Weimar, where he found a letter from Kayser awaiting him. Kayser, having been ill for a good while, had, on recovery, begun to compose *Scherz List und Rache* for the third time. Goethe writes that he wishes Kayser to finish the music as speedily as possible; then in Goethe's seventh volume, to appear at Easter, the announcement of Kayser's music may accompany the text of the operetta. Goethe has spoken to Breitkopf about publishing Kayser's proposed composition, *Römische Nebenstunden*.²

Goethe's official activity was now engaged by the Ilmenau mines, which had been making them uneasy of late, and by the breaking out of the Saale at Jena. Writing to the Duke on November 5, 1789, Goethe announces that *Faust* is ready so far as it will be made ready on this occasion.³ In the same letter he says that he is working diligently at Greek, and has good hopes. This is remarkable, if we consider how busy and anxious he then was. The change of house was at hand, and anxiety about Christiane's confinement had already begun to oppress his thoughts. In November 1789, in the middle of the bustle of changing, arrived Lips, whom he had longed so

¹ On October 5, 1789, the Menads of Paris, led by shifty Usher Maillard, "amid wild October weather, a wild, unwinged stork-flight, through the astonished country wend their way" to Versailles. On October 6, the Royal Family was brought into Paris.—TR.

² *Roman Hours of Idleness*. Goethe to Kayser, October 18, 1789, Burkhardt, *Goethe und Kayser*, S. 73-5.—TR.

³ "Faust ist fragmentirt, das heisst in seiner Art für diessmal abgethan."—TR.

much to see. "We are now gently working ourselves together,"¹ writes Goethe to the Duke, November 20, 1789. "Meanwhile, I have been spurred on to write down my thoughts on Botany. It looks as though a book which I see announced to appear at Easter may anticipate me. Then I will, at least, come in at the same time."

On November 28, 1789, the Duke returned to Weimar; three days later Goethe went with him to visit Dalberg in Erfurt. On December 4 the Duke, Dalberg, and Goethe went to Jena, when the presentation of the professors took place. One of the professors since Easter 1789 had been Schiller, of whose betrothal to Lotte von Lengefeld Goethe knew. Dalberg endeavoured to make Goethe and the Duke decide on paying a salary to Schiller. On December 5 Goethe dined at Court. Dalberg was present and Schiller's Lotte. Christiane was at this time very ill, Goethe very anxious and depressed. But Christiane's condition improved after a couple of weeks, and Goethe could go to Jena on December 21, 1789, to talk with Batsch of the botanical essay already mentioned: the essay was now begun ere leaving Jena. (Batsch had been appointed Professor Extraordinary in Jena, and through Goethe's influence was allowed a small salary, with the use of a part of the Prince's Garden for scientific purposes.) Goethe had meant to give a great tea-party on the evening of December 25 in his spacious new house, but on that day (Charlotte von Stein's birthday) Christiane brought forth a son. The Duke was the god-father. The birth of this son was a great joy to Goethe, who had a deep sense of the responsibility. On December 27 Julius August Walther Goethe was baptized in his father's house by Herder. On December 28 Goethe was visited by Schiller's betrothed and by Wilhelm von Humboldt; he showed them beautiful impressions of gems. Of the six

¹ "Wir arbeiten uns nun sachte zusammen ein."—TR.

last days of the year there was but one, December 28, on which he did not dine at Court ; three times Herder was also present. His friends at Court were glad in his gladness, and he did not permit any extraneous considerations to mar his joy in his own fireside, his own Christiane, his own son August.

CHAPTER II.

VENICE—SILESIA—THE DUCAL THEATRE—OPTICS—
THE NEW HOUSE.

JANUARY 1790—JUNE 1792.

IN the two years that follow Goethe entered on a new official activity and a new scientific field. The third year brought him a house of his own as a gift from his prince, whom he had had to follow into the tumult of the war; an excursion on which the dangers threatening Western Germany were brought near him with painful vividness.

After all, the conflict with society had tried Goethe very much; he was again in need of the bracing and refreshing influence of travel. But, in the beginning of 1790 the question war or peace? was in the balance. Accordingly, the Duke hastened to Berlin, accompanied by Voigt, whose admirable business powers have been already spoken of. Goethe was left in charge of many affairs, which fully occupied the two first months of the year. Every preparation was made so that the building of the Castle might begin immediately upon the return of the Duke. In telling the Duke of this Goethe praises the skill and good sense of the architect Arends. Then the Ilmenau mines were a source of trouble; a second machine for keeping down the water was necessary. Baldauf, the mining expert from Schneeberg, was expected. The tran-

scription of *Faust* and the essay *Metamorphose der Pflanzen* were placed in the printer's hands. Of the latter, Auguste de St. Hilaire says that it is one of those few books which not only render their authors immortal but are immortal themselves. On February 5 Goethe wrote the first *Elegie* of the year 1790.¹ Soon after he went to Ilmenau, where, with the help of Baldauf, who had at length arrived, he "hopes to conquer the subterranean Neptune."² Besides, the levying of taxes and many other things fell on Goethe's shoulders.³

The Duchess Amalia, who had lingered a good while in Naples, now caused her *Oberhofmeister*, Einsiedel, to write to Goethe pressing him to come to meet her in Italy. This invitation reached Goethe at the close of February 1790. The beautiful weather seemed also to invite to travel. He wrote immediately (February 28) to Berlin, begging of the Duke the needful six weeks' leave of absence. "Without expense I should thus secure a great bit of pleasure, for I must once more see something foreign. And I will certainly be useful to your mother. . . . Send me also a word to say how you are, and when the reviews take place this year, if there is not war. I should like to spend '90 as much as possible in the open air." On March 1 Goethe writes that they must not, however, be late for the crowning of the Emperor in Frankfurt; these are pleasant things to look forward to.

Certain that the Duke would give permission, Goethe began at once to prepare. He started about the close of the first week of March 1790, travelling with his servant Götz

¹ Goethe to Karl August, February 6, 1790.—Tr.

² Reading *Neptun* instead of the incomprehensible *Stegbau* of the reprints of Goethe's letter. In German writing characters the two words are like each other.—Tr.

³ See the letters to Karl August in this period.—Tr.

in the little Bohemian chaise in which the Duke had made so many journeys.¹ In his passionate longing for travel he had at first forgotten that he would leave wife and child alone. The parting from them made him "quite soft;"² and he felt sorrow, too, in bidding farewell to Herder's boy August.

In Jena he was detained several days by "a complicated mischief," as he tells Herder. Writing again to this steadfast friend on March 12, 1790, he says:—"As towards the end one begins to grow tender and anxious, it then first struck me that after my departure my maiden and my little one are left altogether alone, should anything befall them, in which she could not help herself. I have told her, in such an extreme case, to turn to you. Pardon!" The "abomination of discordances," which Goethe could only "cloak over,"³ having detained him so long in Jena, he used the more speed in his journey afterwards. On the Wednesday before Easter, March 31, 1790, he arrived in Venice, where he was to await the Duchess.

The old enthusiasm for Italy had altogether passed away. He felt very intensely now how much unseemliness and wrong there was in Italian life; and no doubt the thought of home and Christiane had much to do with the uneasiness and bitterness of his mood. He began to write *Epigrams* in the manner of Martial. Thus on April 3, 1790, he writes to the Duke:—"My *Elegies* have attained their highest sum, and the little book would be closed. On the other hand, I am bringing a *Libellus Epigrammatum* back with me." The delay in the arrival of the Duchess was annoying. Still, though so much.

¹ Goethe to Karl August, July 1, 1790.—TR.

² "Ganz mürbe." Goethe to Herder [Jena, March 1790].—TR.

³ "Greuel der Missverhältnissen," Goethe to Herder, Jena, March 12, 1790: "Bemänteln," Goethe to Herder [Jena, March 1790].—TR.

in this "Stone and Water-nest"¹ displeased him, he was able to find much to amuse and instruct during his stay. Indeed, the delay led to a fruitful discovery.

On May 4, 1790, Goethe writes to Herder's wife:—"During the past month I have *seen, read, thought, written* [the *Epigramme* had grown to a hundred] more than in a year at other times, when the neighbourhood of friends and of my good treasure makes me quite comfortable and happy. . . . By a strangely happy chance—that Götz, for a jest took up an animal's skull at the Jewish cemetery, and jokingly presented it to me as a Jew's skull—I have made a great step forwards in the explanation of animal development. Now again I stand before another door until fortune hands me the key." The skull which Götz picked up had split in so happy a way as to make plain to Goethe's eyes the truth of his prevision that the skull is a metamorphosed vertebra. The letter continues:—"Nor have I neglected to contemplate the sea-monsters, and on them too have made some beautiful observations." He also writes:—"The old Zucchi [Angelika Kauffmann's husband] is very friendly. He gives me lectures on the Directory,² and explains to me the strange constitution of this state, while I run through the Venetian history. I have almost looked myself sick at pictures, and really must pause for a week." On April 15 he had written to Herder that he was studying the history of Venetian painting with great delight. Moreover, from the artists employed at the academy for the restoration of paintings, Goethe learned much as to the methods employed by the old masters in priming and laying on tints. The arrival in Venice on May 5, 1790, of Heinrich Meyer, who was but a short time recovered from a dangerous illness, was a great joy to Goethe. And next day came the Duchess, accompanied by his dear friend Bury. A busy time of sight-seeing followed,

¹ Goethe to Herder, April 15, 1790.—TR. ² "*Adresskalender*."—TR.

in the little Bohemian chaise in which the Duke had made so many journeys.¹ In his passionate longing for travel he had at first forgotten that he would leave wife and child alone. The parting from them made him "quite soft;"² and he felt sorrow, too, in bidding farewell to Herder's boy August.

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¹ Goethe to Herder, April 15, 1790.—TR. ² "*Adresskalender*."—TR.

first in Venice, then in Padua, Vicenza, Verona, Mantua. In the city last named Bury stayed, while Meyer went thence to Switzerland for the benefit of his health.¹ In Augsburg Goethe received from the Duke an invitation to the Prussian camp in Silesia.² For the King of Prussia, seeing that the negotiations with Austria were paralysed, meant to try whether his personal presence in Silesia with an army ready for battle would hurry matters; and the Duke of Weimar was charged with the inspection of the Magdeburg cavalry regiments.

On June 20, 1790, Goethe returned with the Duchess Amalia to Weimar, glad at heart to be with his dear ones again. The Duke repeated his invitation, but his happiness in his home, the need that he should wait to see the Duchess Amalia comfortably settled, the building of the Castle and other business, detained Goethe a considerable time. The last volume of his works, with *Faust* and the *Metamorphose der Pflanzen*, now lay printed before him. He writes to the Duke on July 1, 1790:—"The little botanical work gives me joy, for on every walk I find new vouchers for it. And I will now write together what I have thought as to the formation of animals." (On July 9 he tells Knebel how he will work on the approaching journey at the second part of the *Metamorphose der Pflanzen*, and at the essay on the development of animals.) Earlier in the letter to the Duke he says:—"I am copying at my *Epigramme*. Many of them, indeed, are completely local, and can only be enjoyed in Venice." From Kant's *Kritik der Urtheilskraft*, just published, shone a clear light for Goethe. Of the earlier works of this great philosopher, who pressed on his path with such steady, logical sequence, Goethe had but a general knowledge. But the great central thought of this book—that Nature and

¹ Goethe to Herder, Mantua, May 28, 1790.—TR.

² This was received about June 10 or 11, 1790.—TR.

Art are two altogether distinct worlds, whose creatures have a perfect right to existence in themselves, and further, the rejection of final causes, made a very direct appeal to Goethe, and excited vivid interest. As formerly from Spinoza, so now from Kant he read forth only such things as were correspondent with his mode of thinking, as illuminated it and confirmed it.

Accompanied by his servant Götz, he again set out on July 26, 1790, in the Duke's little chaise, five weeks after his return to Weimar. In Dresden, last seen three and twenty years ago,¹ he arrived on July 28, and was delighted and refreshed by the paintings, the antiques, and the casts; and, besides, he made many interesting acquaintances in his two days' stay. Thence he travelled to the camp at Grebischen before Breslau. The Duke, whom he now met after seven months' parting, was "strong and stout."² With the camp as a central point, Goethe traversed the beautiful country on all sides, and gained many new views and conceptions. When the King of Prussia arrived on August 11, the Duke of Weimar took up his quarters in the city of Breslau, and Goethe went with him as guest. Goethe kept eye and ear open in every direction, hoping for increase of knowledge and wisdom. Among the persons whom he met, the one who pleased him most was the excellent business man *Oberbergrath* von Schuckmann. Already probably he planned to gain Schuckmann for Weimar. Alone, he made an excursion through the county of Glatz; on a week's journey with the Duke, he visited the mines of Tarnowitz; thence they went on to Cracow, the ancient place of crowning of the Polish kings, now decaying more and more; then the salt mines of Wieliczka and the place of pilgrimage, Czenstochowa, were visited. On this journey Goethe widened his knowledge of

¹ In 1767. See vol. i. pp. 91-2.—Tr.

² "Stark und dick," Goethe to Herder: Before Breslau, August 10, 1790.—Tr.

mining. He was comforted to find that in Tarnowitz they had to combat a flow of water still greater than that in the Ilmenau mine. Several *Epigramme* were composed or sketched during this period; the comic opera *Il Conte* was continued, and the treatise on animal development begun. On September 11, 1790, having returned to "noisy, muddy, evil-smelling Breslau," Goethe writes to Herder:—"Everywhere there is roguery and vagabondism, and I shall certainly pass no really happy hour until I have supped with you and slept by my girl's side. If you continue to love me, if a few good folk continue friendly, if my girl is true, if my child lives, and my big stove gives good warmth, I have nothing essential left to desire. The Duke is very good to me, and is happy in his element." Still Goethe enjoyed the week of delay in Dresden on his homeward journey. He had a great deal of intercourse with Schiller's friend Körner, to whom he spoke with earnestness and depth on the teleological part of Kant's *Kritik der Urtheilskraft*, on Nature, and on Art. Some of the *Römische Elegien* were repeated to Körner. On October 6, 1790, the Duke, with whom Goethe travelled, was met at Jena by the Duchess and the Court with festal rejoicing.

On October 9, 1790, the roof of the new Castle of Weimar was put on. Immediately on Goethe's return, he fell to dictating at the essay begun in Breslau. When towards the end of October it came to a standstill, he went with Lips to Jena for a couple of weeks in order to hear Loder lecture on the muscles. During this stay he visited Schiller. "The conversation soon came upon Kant," writes Schiller. "It is interesting how he clothes everything in his own way and manner, and renders back surprisingly what he has read; but I would not like to dispute with him on things which interest me very much. He completely lacks that hearty fashion of confessing to any opinion; to him the whole of philosophy is subjective, and

that puts an end to both conviction and dispute. And I cannot altogether approve of his philosophy ; it derives too much from the world of the senses, where I derive from the soul. In general his mode of conceiving is too sensuous, and *handles* (*betastet*) too much for me. But his spirit works and seeks in all directions, and strives to build for itself a whole, and to me that makes him a great man."

When Goethe was back in Weimar the *Römische Elegien* and the *Epigramme* occupied him for a time ; he thought of printing the former, but Herder counselled against it.¹ By Goethe's influence the Duke was moved to invite Schuckmann to a seat in the Privy Council of Weimar.² The close of the year 1790 found the lower rooms of Goethe's new house still not perfectly ready. It was about this time that an important event in the scientific history of his mind occurred. A considerable while before he had borrowed some prisms from Büttner in order to perform the experiments of Newton. Now Loder sent entreating that these prisms should be given to the returning messenger, as Büttner was quite unhappy at not having received them after several requests. Goethe had never unpacked them, and now had brought down the box in which they lay undisturbed, when it occurred to him to take one look through a prism. But what was his amazement when the white wall on which the rays were directed from the prism instead of showing several colours remained white, colour showing only where something dark edged the white, showing brightest of all on the window frames. Immediately he conceived that he had here discovered the Newtonian theory of light to be false, and that in order to colour a boundary was necessary. He could not think of sending back the prisms ; he sent begging for a prolongation of the loan. It escaped

¹ Goethe to Knebel, January 1, 1791.—Tr.

² Goethe to Schuckmann, November 25, 1790.—Tr.

him, that Newton distinctly says that colour is only manifest when one looks from a certain distance on a white surface of small extension.

Goethe's vivid feeling of the importance to painters of the distribution of light and shade, the importance, too, of the dark medium, contributed to hurry him into the belief that Newton's explanation of the origin of colours is erroneous. A great deal of delight, but also a great deal of pain, during half a lifetime was to proceed from the study of optics that now began. So much did he take to heart the methodic exposition of his theory, that many a time he was ready to set this performance of his above all the other things in which he had been successful.

Busy as he was in official and scientific activity, there was no lack of the cheery social life to which Christiane had the art to incline him. Evidence of this we have in the humorous reply to Reichardt, who had asked him for a great opera. Goethe asks Reichardt to send half a dozen or half a hundred airs for either English dances or quadrilles, only let them be characteristic; as for the figures they would make them out. "Around me now," remarks Goethe, "there is neither music nor song that is not fiddling for the dance. . . . If it goes tolerably with me in the dance and in life probably a tune will soon be heard again."¹ There were social evening gatherings at the Duchess Amalia's² in which Goethe gladly took part. At these assemblies there was reading aloud from the works of Shakespeare, Lessing, Wieland, and of Goethe himself. The Duchess Amalia, who possessed the earlier books of *Wilhelm Meister*, now persuaded Goethe to begin working on the novel;³ but only too soon he gave it up again.

¹ Goethe to Reichardt, October 25, 1790.—TR.

² On Mondays.—TR.

³ Goethe to Knebel, January 1, 1791.—TR.

Goethe was on the friendliest terms with the Duchess Luise. She was very bitter when she thought of the humiliation of the French monarchy beneath a disorderly democracy, almost more bitter with those Germans who applauded the event. Goethe and Charlotte von Stein, like her, execrated the mad, unrestrained delirium about freedom.

In the beginning of 1791 the Duke engaged in the task of founding a Court Theatre, the management of which he offered in vain to the actor Beck of Mannheim, who was then giving successful representations in Weimar. Already in 1790, in Berlin, the Duke and Reichardt had had much discussion on the elevation of the German Theatre, and both of them were very hopeful, but Goethe thought it hardly possible to effect any good, such was the bad taste prevalent. "Of originality, invention, character, of the unity and perfect finish of a work of art, the Germans have not the least notion," wrote Goethe to Reichardt at that time.¹ And again: "The ruder class of spectators you captivate by variety and extravagance, the more cultivated by a kind of propriety. Knights, Robbers, Benefactors, Grateful Benefited Persons, an honest, direct *Tiers-État*, an infamous Aristocracy, and so on, and pervading all a well-sustained mediocrity of thought and language, out of which one by chance but ventures a few steps downwards into dulness or upwards into absurdity—here you have the ingredients and the tone of our novels and plays during the last ten years." But now when the Duke offered Goethe the control of the theatre, he would not refuse it; for, after all, he could at least raise the theatre from the condition to which it had sunk under Bellomo's management, and he might hope to find in his work a new stimulus to dramatic poetry. The details of administration were to be under the care of Franz Kirms, a man just turned thirty, a *Landkammerrath*, and

¹ Enclosed in a letter to Karl August, February 28, 1790.—Tr.

Goethe received both with friendliness. Knebel was, however, most unpleasantly infected with the French ideas about freedom, and aired them even at Court with complete regardlessness.

On June 6, 1791, Goethe attended the meeting of shareholders in Ilmenau, which, happily, granted the sums to pay for the new machines. The Ducal company now betook themselves to Lauchstedt, where all went well. On June 12, 1791, Goethe on behalf of the Duke offered Schuckmann the place in the Council which Goethe's resignation left vacant. But Schuckmann would not leave the Prussian service, a great disappointment to Goethe and the Duke. At this time, beside the building of the Castle and fresh improvements in Weimar Park, the entertainment of the Duchess Amalia occupied Goethe. He now sketched the plan of an evening assembly of cultivated people to take place during the winter on the first Friday of every month at her house.¹ Amid all the various claims on his attention the study of optics was continued with the happiest result; wonderful experiments were thought out and performed, the rainbow brought to great perfection.² He had a good deal of trouble about mechanical matters of fabrication; for instance, about the cardboard pages on which for convenience' sake he wished to publish the numerous tables needful to establish his theories.³

In the quiet happiness of Goethe's life at this time came a great shock. Merck, by whose friendship through more than twenty years he had been benefited and sustained, tortured by bodily suffering and by the illusion that the

¹ The plan is reprinted in the appendix to the volume *Goethe's Briefe an Christian Gottlob Voigt*.—TR.

² Goethe to Karl August, July 1, 1791.—TR.

³ Goethe to Karl August, July 8, 1791.—TR.

military chest of which he had the control exhibited a deficit, had put an end to his life with a bullet.¹

In the second week of July 1791 Goethe left Weimar, and travelled by Erfurt to Gotha, where the appliances for the study of physics were of great service to him. From Gotha he visited Eisenach, and also the Court at Wilhelmsthal. On this excursion he finished the third act of his comedy *Il Conte*. After his return he brought his treatise on the formation of colours rapidly to a conclusion, so that on his birthday, August 28, 1791, he was able to announce that the first part of his *Beiträge zur Optik*² would soon appear. It was printed at Weimar in September 1791, first having been submitted to Herder. It only ran to four sheets. During September Goethe was besides engaged in finishing his comedy (to be called *Der Grosskophta*, not *Il Conte* as at first designed), and in planning how to give his theatre an impetus. The theatre was to reopen at Weimar on October 1, 1791. Goethe wrote a prologue. The manuscript of *Der Grosskophta*, after having been read with pleasure by Herder, was forwarded to Berlin for printing. Immediately after this a domestic misfortune befell which pained Goethe deeply. Christiane bore a dead boy on October 14, 1791. Goethe threw himself lamenting on the ground, and tossed to and fro in unspeakable grief.

The first of the Duchess Amalia's Friday evening assemblies took place on November 4, 1791, the Duke being one of those present. Goethe, as President, opened it with a very luminous exposition of his new observations in optics, connecting these with the essay that he had lately published. The necessary diagrams he had sketched beforehand on a black surface. He argued against Newton's theory, and showed how blind adoration can strike deep roots even in good minds.

¹ June 27, 1791.—TR.

² *Contributions to Optics*.—TR.

Goethe was followed by Herder, Voigt, the Court physician Hufeland, and the Jena professors Batsch and Lenz, each of whom delivered a short essay on some subject. Besides those here named, we know two others who were present—the old Büttner, and the Councillor of Consistory Böttiger. The latter had now been a month at work as Director of the Weimar *Gymnasium*. He had been appointed through the agency of Herder. Just turned thirty, gifted and erudite, he was a great gain to the intellectual life of Weimar, though one needed a little time to grow accustomed to his excitable, vivacious nature, and voice of the deepest bass.¹

Now at length Heinrich Meyer, completely restored to health, came to Weimar; and this was to Goethe a beginning of new life. For Meyer possessed a knowledge of Art and of the history of Art so fine and deep, that Goethe could think of no one to put by his side.² People in Weimar might laugh at the broad Swiss accent of Meyer, but they could not help liking him. He took up his abode in Goethe's upper story, and became like a member of the family. It was perhaps in the beginning of this residence that Meyer painted in water-colour Christiane with her August in her arms in an attitude admirably modelled on that of the *Madonna della sedia*. This painting was a great favourite with Goethe, and was always kept carefully under a curtain.³

At this time Goethe was completely possessed with confidence in the fruitfulness of his theory of colour, yet he saw that he could not hope to subdue this province of Nature

¹ From a letter of Böttiger's is derived our knowledge of that first Friday evening assembly. See it quoted in Düntzer's *Goethe und Karl August*.—TR.

² *Zweiter Aufenthalt in Rom*, December 25, 1787.—TR.

³ Riemer, *Mittheilungen über Goethe*, i. 358, expressly states that from this picture only can one gain a notion of the freshness and charm of Christiane's appearance in those early days.—TR.

singlehanded. On November 17, 1791, he writes to Reichardt:—"I have already entered into close union with a painter [Meyer] and with a mathematician [Professor Voigt of Jena?], and hope to form near and genuine intimacies in the other departments also." Earlier in the letter he proposes that Reichardt shall be his associate as to acoustics.

He now ventured to prepare Shakespeare's *King John* for the stage. Christiane Amalie Louise Neumann, then but twelve years old, he trained in the part of Arthur. This girl had appeared in Bellomo's company in her ninth year, and with great applause. The Duchess Amalia had committed her to the instruction of Corona Schröter, and after the death of her father had become her protector. With what passionate artist delight and partiality Goethe strove to cultivate this "beautiful talent,"¹ is known to readers of *Euphrosyne*,² the elegy that glorifies her memory. Her Arthur was played with wonderful truth and perfect art. Goethe worked hard to bring the other actors into accord with it; as his effort, indeed, always was to secure a harmonious whole.³ After this he ventured on a performance of his own comedy, *Der Grosskopf*, in which Fräulein Neumann played the effective part of the Niece with great success. The comedy was represented first on December 17, 1791; then on December 26, 1791; then on March 10, 1792, and again at Lauchstedt on July 15, 1792. Reichardt was present at the last of these performances. Goethe writes to Reichardt on July 29, 1792:—"I am glad that you have not lost your old partiality for the *Cophtha*, and that the representation in Lauchstädt has not altogether dis-

¹ "Wünsch' ich dein schönes Talent glücklich vollendet zu sehn," is a line in *Euphrosyne*.—TR.

² *Euphrosyne* conceived on the Swiss journey of 1797; written 1798.—TR.

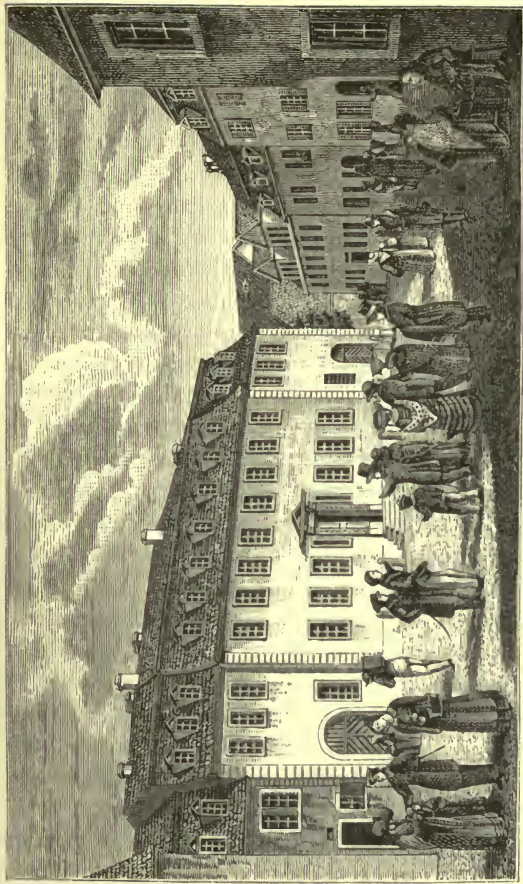
³ *King John* was first played in public in Weimar on November 29, 1791.—TR.

pleased you. I will repeat it at least once every year as a sign. For more than *one* reason the other German theatres will keep aloof from it." The epilogue for the last performance of the year 1791 was composed by Goethe for Fräulein Neumann, who spoke it on December 31, 1791, in the midst of many children.

In the beginning of the new year, 1792, the year that concealed war in its bosom, the theatre and optical inquiry engrossed the poet. In the second part of the *Beiträge zur Optik*, which was now prepared, he did not advance beyond the subjective phenomena of colour; he desired, as he told Reichardt on November 17, 1791, to make a methodic advance, to add experiment to experiment, not to promulgate his doctrine until it could and must be deduced from his experiments by any one. Meyer was at this time engaged on a painting, *The Rape of the Daughters of Leucippus*, and in the colouring conformed to the results of Goethe's prism experiments. Being exhibited at one of the Duchess Amalia's Friday Assemblies, this picture, to Goethe's triumph, won the highest admiration from all, as well for colouring as for composition (*Auffassung*) and presentation (*Darstellung*).¹ An important event in the history of the Weimar stage was the performance of Mozart's *Don Giovanni* on the birthday of the Duchess Luise (January 30, 1792). On January 28 *Hamlet* was performed; on February 28, Schiller's *Don Karlos*, which the author had worked over afresh; both plays were very successful. On the other hand a performance of *Egmont* was coldly received, to Goethe's great regret.

The second part of the *Beiträge zur Optik* was to appear at Easter, but the difficulty of packing the coloured card which illustrated the text delayed the booksellers in sending it out. The publication of a third part, which was to have

¹ This Friday fell on February 17, 1792. We know of it from Böttiger. Düntzer, *Goethe und Karl August*, ii. 55.—TR.



*Warum sehen sie davor?
 Ist nicht Thüre da und Thor?
 Kömen sie getroffen herein
 Würden wohl empfangen seyn.
 Goethe 1828*

FIG. 4. Goethe's House in Weimar. From the drawing (1827) by Otto Wagner, with a facsimile of the verses that Goethe composed for this drawing.

appeared at the same time as the second, did not take place at all owing to the supplements. Towards the close of April 1792 Count Christian Stolberg stopped for a while in Weimar; he was going to Karlsbad, leaving his wife Luise in Weimar with the Countess Bernstorff. Christian Stolberg visited Goethe, and saw Goethe's "curly-golden-haired little boy." The Countess Stolberg, who abhorred Goethe's natural marriage, was very repellent to the latter because of her unrestrained tendency to censoriousness.¹ Christian Stolberg and Goethe never met afterwards.

Before going to Aschersleben the Duke commissioned Voigt to buy the house on the *Frauenplan* that Goethe had occupied from 1782 to 1789. The Duke purposed to make a present of it to Goethe. After a considerable time spent in bargaining, the house was bought for 6000 thalers.

While these things were going on in Weimar, Prussia, as the ally of Austria, was preparing for war with France. Goethe kept hoping that there would be no war, since "in these times of calculation we have seen a great deal of this kind of weather pass off."² The birth of a healthy prince on May 30, 1792, was a joy to the Duke; for good omen he gave the child the name of the great Weimar soldier Bernhard; the whole Weimar regiment stood godfather in the person of the *Obrist-wachtmeister* von Weyrach. During the stay of the Duke in Weimar, the rebuilding for Goethe of the newly-purchased house at the Duke's expense was sanctioned. After the Italian fashion, the six-windowed lower story was to contain, besides a large, gently-ascending staircase, only one great room with recesses. Goethe planned to live in the summer of 1792 in the little *Gartenhaus*, while his collections should be stored in a part of the lower story of the new house, which was to be made

¹ Goethe to Jacobi, June 15, 1792.—TR.

² *Goethes Briefe an Voigt.*, S. 146.—TR.

ready at once. Here, too, he had a new *camera obscura*, and all kinds of instruments for his experiments. The "freedom" vertigo, which grew ever more distasteful, stirred him to composition; he began a tale, the *Reise der Söhne Megaprazons*, but lost the humour for it before he advanced far. He tells Reichardt, towards the close of July 1792, that he is working on a couple of pieces not to be brought on the stage but to attain their end by being printed, since in that way the thinking part of the nation, in truth no small part, can be reached. Without doubt these were political pieces, probably sketches for the plays *Der Bürgergeneral* and *Die Aufgeregten*. Alas! his hope of working on the thinking part of the nation was completely disappointed; even his greatest friends were so little able to appreciate *Der Grosskophta*, that they compared it with *Iphigenie* and *Tasso*! (and even these had failed to kindle enthusiasm), and received it with coldness and shrugging of shoulders.

Since the middle of June 1792, German regiments had been moving towards the Rhine. Weimar was feverishly excited by their march through. The Duke was soon to depart, and had many charges to lay on Goethe, and this, added to the confusion of house-changing, deprived the poet of all quiet. On the morning of June 22, 1792, the Duke left Weimar, after having received from Goethe the promise of a visit at Coblenz. Later, the Duke expressed a wish that Goethe, instead of remaining on the Rhine, should accompany him (the Duke) on the campaign into France; Goethe did his best to avoid this. Then he was tormented by long delay in the arrival of the Duke's decisive reply. As Karl August remained steadfast in his desire, Goethe set forth from Weimar in the second week of August 1792, leaving with a heavy heart wife and child, and his true friend Meyer, who was to superintend the rebuilding, and to counsel and support Christiane.

CHAPTER III.

THE CAMPAIGN IN FRANCE—JACOBI—THE PRINCESS GALITZIN—
REINEKE FUCHS—THE SIEGE OF MAINZ—FICHTE—VOSS—
SCHILLER.

AUGUST 1792—SEPTEMBER 1794.

THE Duke's little chaise again bore the poet and his servant Götz from Weimar; their destination now was the German army of invasion in France. Goethe took with him his MSS. on optics, the third volume of Gehler's *Physikalisches Wörterbuch*, and a careful map of the seat of war. His first stopping-place was his native city, where he had planned to remain until the end of the month, only making short excursions in the neighbourhood.¹ He arrived in Frankfurt on August 12, 1792. The Frau Rath received her dear Wolfgang with infinite joy; she had now been a long time yearning in vain to see him! She thought him stronger and fuller. Her maternal heart exulted as she once more pressed to her heart her dear son, whose fame brought so many strangers to her; for all the world was longing to see the mother of the famous poet, but she ascribed to God alone the gift of greatness. It was indeed a source of regret to the Frau Rath that her son instead of a church-wedded wife had only a *Liebchen*, and that she could not advertise the birth of his children, but

¹ Goethe to Herder, August 13, 1792.—TR.

her grandmotherly love for his August was not the less, and she could not be harsh towards the poor unfriended maiden whom Wolfgang loved so well. On August 18, 1792, Goethe writes to Jacobi :—"My old friends and my increasing native city I have seen again with joy ; only it is impossible to avoid tedium in all the social circles, for where two or three are gathered together you hear the song now four years old being strummed *pro* and *contra*, and not even with variations—but the crude theme. . . . Unfortunately the newspapers come everywhere ; these are now my most dangerous foes." The newspapers spread so much that was false that Goethe could not endure them. He was pretty impartial himself, and speaks in the same letter of his indifference to the fate of either "aristocrat or democrat sinners." On August 16, 1792, the Duke's summons to the camp had arrived. On August 20 Goethe went on to Mainz, where he spent two pleasant evenings with his friends Forster and Sömmering.

On August 27, 1792, the eve of his birthday, Goethe reached the marshy camping ground of the Prussians outside the town of Longwy, which had surrendered after a short resistance. He was glad to find the Duke of Weimar in right good health. On August 28, 1792, his birthday, he visited Longwy, accompanied by the Duke and some friends. In the inn they drank the health of the Duke and of his son the god-child of the Weimar Regiment, and probably he whose birthday it was did not lack kindly remembrances. When on August 29 the Weimar Regiment passed before the King of Prussia, Goethe preceded it in the Duke's chaise.¹ The King rode up and asked in kingly laconic fashion to whom the carriage belonged. Goethe answered in loud clear voice,

¹ The Weimar Regiment went first, so that Goethe in his chaise led the army of invasion as it moved on to conquer France!—*Campagne in Frankreich*, August 29.—TR.

“The Duke of Weimar.” Soon after he left the chaise, and mounting the white horse allotted to him, rode on with the van. On August 31, outside Verdun he observed in a meadow pond of spring water one of the most attractive phenomena of colour. At midnight that day meeting Prince Reuss, whom he had long known, amid the batteries outside Verdun, and being asked what new thing he had on hand, Goethe tells the surprised prince not of tragedies and novels but of his recent researches in Colour. Verdun yielded on September 2, 1792, to the second summons; on September 3, the Duke of Weimar’s birthday, Goethe and many others rode into the city. Goethe sent thence to the dear ones at home by a courier a box of costly sugar-plums, bonbons, and liqueurs.

And now the great mistake of delaying in Verdun was made. Moreover, the boldness of the King of Prussia, who counselled marching at once on Paris, was overruled by the caution of the Duke of Brunswick; and the army moved down the Aisne laboriously on the deep road until (September 12) it reached Landres opposite Grandpré, where Dumouriez had occupied the heights. The rain poured without ceasing, the tents gave but little shelter. Still Goethe dictated to *Kanzlei-sekretär* Vogel an elucidation of the colour-phenomenon observed at Verdun.¹ With the aid of the Austrian General Clerfayt, Dumouriez was dislodged, but the army, instead of following him, passed a couple of days in inactivity.

When the Weimar Regiment—the van of the army—broke up from Somme Tourbe on September 20, 1792, Goethe accompanied the first squadron, which rapidly pressed on in advance of the rest. But the squadron soon received orders to go back and take position in front of the forework La Lune. In their wild ride they had crossed the highroad from

¹ *Campagne in Frankreich*, September 12, 1792.—TR.

Chalons to Paris, as Goethe saw by a signpost, a disquieting reminder that they were between Paris and the French Army. This day, September 20, 1792, was the day of the Cannonade of Valmy. The day ended without profit to the allies, because the Duke of Brunswick lost the advantage that offered of attacking Kellermann. Goethe, desiring to know the peculiar nature of the cannon fever, rode, in spite of the warnings of officers whom he knew, to a point where the balls played around sufficiently, but were less dangerous than at other places because they remained embedded in the wet ground. In the night after the cannonade Goethe said :—"From this place and day begins a new epoch in history, and you can say that you have been there."¹ In truth, remarkable words ! He saw that the power of the allies was broken, and that the Republic would hurl itself with irresistible rage on Germany. The French afterwards dated their calendar from this day.

That night the Prussians scooped trenches in the earth and lay in them cloak-enwapt ; thus reposed the Duke of Weimar and his Minister Goethe. On the evening of September 21 the headquarters were removed back to Hans, where Goethe was overjoyed to find his little chaise. Dumouriez managed to protract negotiations over several days, thus detaining the allies under circumstances the worst for them ; they could not get bread enough, and the weather was fearful. On September 27, 1792, Goethe writes to Knebel :—"They begin to think something of the enemy whom heretofore they despised, and, as is usual in such changes, to think more of the enemy than is right. Some decision will be shortly known. There are only a few ways of emerging from this condition. The Duke is right well ; so am I, though I diminish in stoutness daily, as my waistcoats and coats indicate. I am after my fashion

¹ *Campagne in Frankreich.*—TR.

diligent in silence, and think out many things; in *optics* I have made some beautiful advances. I am reading French authors whom otherwise I should never have seen, and so I use the time as well as I can. If the weather were good all would be different, and many experiments might be tried, and more men seen; but, as it is, one has to spend days without leaving the tent."

On the evening of the day on which this letter was written, September 27, 1792, they were talking seriously in the Duke's tent of the gravity of the situation. Goethe, who amid all distress was ever ready with observations grave or gay, felt the impulse to remind them of the Crusade of St. Louis. On that crusade, when the Christian army was in the most dangerous position and had suffered dreadful losses, the Count de Soissons said smiling to the Sire de Joinville:—"Seneschal, let the pack bark and brawl! By God's throne! of this day we shall yet speak in the hall with ladies!" After telling this story, which made some smile, Goethe went on to speak of the condition of Attila after his defeat, which had occurred in that very neighbourhood, a condition far worse than that of the Prussian army, and yet Attila had not been destroyed. Afterwards Goethe read aloud to the Duke until nearly morning from an amusing French book.¹

On September 29, 1792, in the evening, the army of invasion began its retreat. Every day was full of weariness and wretchedness. Goethe during the first days travelled in the chaise, but at length left it to relieve the four little horses of his weight; but the riding horses were nowhere to be seen, and the poet mounted into a commissariat waggon that came by, the only other occupant of which was a sulky kitchen-maid. However, he read in his Gehler and tried to forget her.² When, by and by, they came upon the saddle-horses, Goethe in

¹ *Campagne in Frankreich*, September 27.—TR.

² *Ibid.*, October 4, 1792.—TR.

mounting vowed that he would not easily again enter on such an expedition. On the evening of this day, October 4, Goethe, his companions said, was for the first time low-spirited and taciturn. He now became very uneasy about the fate of the chaise and his trunk with his portfolio, his papers, money, and clothes.¹ The distress of the regiment came to its height at Consenvoy, where they spent the night of October 7, 1792; Goethe describes his grim method of tiring himself into enjoyment of the wet, cold ground as a resting-place. On October 8, 1792, the Duke, pitying Goethe's condition, offered him the fourth place in an ambulance which was being sent with a couple of invalids to Verdun; Goethe could procure a few days' rest in that city. As they drove to Verdun they overtook a little vehicle drawn by four small horses; it was Goethe's chaise, and in the charge of friends; everything was safe. The good servant had fought through all difficulties. From Verdun, on October 10, 1792, Goethe wrote home to tell of his welfare.² But on October 11 they had to set forth again, as the Prussians could not hold Verdun. From Luxemburg, on October 16, 1792, Goethe writes to Herder:—"I for my part sing unto the Lord the merriest Psalm of David since He hath delivered me from the mire that went over my soul. When you, my dear ones, thank God in silence for all kinds of unacknowledged benefits, forget not to praise Him for having placed you and your best friends in a position where you cannot commit follies on a grand scale. . . . I am hurrying to the fleshpots of my mother, there to awake as it were from a bad dream which has held me prisoned between dirt and distress, want and anxiety, danger and painfulness, corpses, carcasses, and heaps of ruin. Farewell, and know yourselves to be as lucky as you are."

¹ *Campagne in Frankreich*, October 6, 1792.—TR.

² Riemer's *Mittheilungen*, ii. 334.—TR.

Goethe's hope of a return through Frankfurt was to be disappointed. He arrived in Trier on October 22, 1792. Soon after word reached him that his prediction about the fate of Frankfurt had proved true. After the capture of Mainz by Custine, the French under Newinger had occupied Frankfurt and levied contributions. It was in Trier that Goethe received a letter from his mother, which had been much delayed in transmission, informing him of the death of his uncle Textor on September 19, 1792. His mother went on to say that Goethe had been chosen to fill the Councillor's chair thus vacant, and she was commissioned to inquire whether he was willing to do so.¹ But nothing could have been more unlikely than that the poet should give up the well-founded good which he had earned by years of patience and labour in Weimar.

While awaiting in Trier the coming of the Duke, Goethe occupied himself in considering the important reliques of Roman antiquity to be found in Trier, and the monument at Igel near Trier, which dates from the age of the Antonines, and which he had already seen on his journey to the army.² On October 29, 1792, the Duke arrived in Trier; on the following day he entertained a large company at dinner: Goethe was present.

When Goethe saw the sick of the Weimar Regiment being sent, by the kindness of the Duke, down the Moselle in a vessel a desire to travel by water came upon him. He hired a boat and went down the river to Coblenz; there strange memories of former days in the Ehrenbreitstein valley possessed him. At Coblenz he stopped at the post-house in the quarters destined for the Duke of Weimar. Karl

¹ *Campagne in Frankreich*, October 29, 1792.—TR.

² On August 23, 1792. See Goethe's Essay on the monument, Hempel's *Goethe*, xxviii. 415.—TR.

August arrived in the night of November 5, 1792, but could give only odd hours to his friend. As Goethe declined to be a spectator of the operations of war any longer, he must sacrifice his desire to revisit his native city, round which the war would rage. He felt a longing to see Jacobi, to rest in the friendly Pempelfort home. To avoid the roads thronged with troops the long way from Coblenz to Düsseldorf was traversed in a Rhine skiff. Late on a dark winter night he arrived at Pempelfort.¹ His unexpected appearance filled Jacobi with joy. Though their views in many matters differed—Goethe's conception of art had undergone transfiguration in Italy, Jacobi had visited constitutional England—the hearts of the friends, who had not met for eight years,² found each other again at once. Jacobi felt that he must be indulgent towards Goethe, who had suffered so much in mind and body during the last few months. The gloom of the poet was dispelled by the warm friendliness of the household; his heart was more susceptible than ever to the "blessed family-scenes" that surrounded him. He charmed the attention of young and old by his delightful stories of Italy; on the other hand, his *Reise der Söhne Megaprazons* found no response, and the experiments in optics which lay so near his heart aroused hardly any interest. Beside the half-sisters on whom Jacobi's domestic happiness so largely depended, Charlotte whom Goethe had known long ago,³ and the austere "Mother of the Church"⁴ Helene, and beside Jacobi's son and daughter, Goethe met at Pempelfort

¹ Goethe himself in the *Campagne in Frankreich* gives us no precise date for this visit. But see in Düntzer's *Goethe und Karl August*, ii. 88, the following.—Probable arrival in Pempelfort November 11, 1792. Three weeks' visit brings Goethe's departure to December 2, 1792. Probable arrival in Münster December 4, 1792.—TR.

² Jacobi had been in Weimar in September 1784. See vol. i. p. 452.—TR.

³ Vol. i. p. 213.—TR.

⁴ Goethe to Jacobi, April 17, 1793.—TR.

the librarian *Hofrath* Heinse,¹ who had fled hither from Mainz, and Jacobi's dear house-friend Heinrich Schenk. Düsseldorf was visited frequently, and there were important conversations there with Count Nesselrode, with von Dohm the Prussian plenipotentiary at the Court of the Elector of Köln, and with von Coudenhoven, General in the service of the Elector of Mainz. The wives of the latter two were a charming part of the company. At the Düsseldorf Picture Gallery Goethe's especial endeavour was to thoroughly learn the peculiar merits of the Netherlandish painters. Very anxious about the fate of the Lower Rhine, but very glad in the consciousness of revived friendship with Jacobi, Goethe after a stay of three weeks left hospitable Pempelfort in Jacobi's heavy travelling-carriage, his own little chaise not having arrived.

After leaving Pempelfort Goethe visited Plessing² in Duisburg. He then spent a very happy week (December 1792) in Münster in the little circle of the Princess Galitzin, who had now been a member of the Catholic Church for six years. She was attracted by the noble mind and heart of the poet, and by the harmony of his being. He was not in the mood to communicate anything from his literary compositions, and could not bring forward the studies in optics, but here as elsewhere his accounts of Italy charmed all hearts. Hemsterhuis, who accompanied the Princess when she visited Weimar in 1785, had died two years before this visit of Goethe's. His beautiful collection of gems was a pleasant starting-point for discursive talk on plastic art. Only with an effort did Goethe tear himself from this circle of gentle and pious people. Beside

¹ Vol. i. p. 251.—TR.

² Vol. i. p. 339. Goethe, in his *Campagne in Frankreich*, here pauses to give an account in detail of his first meeting with Plessing in 1777.—TR.

the noble Fürstenberg there were many worthy Catholic clergymen and gifted young men striving after the ideal life.¹ The Princess herself gave Goethe the Hemsterhuis gems to take with him in order to make a more precise examination of them, and she accompanied him to the end of the first stage of his journey.²

When after an absence of four months Goethe came one December midnight to his home again, there was a wonderful joyous family scene. Christiane, who loved him with a passionate faithful fondness, his boy, now almost three years old, and his true and anxious friend, who had never before been so glad on being awaked from midnight rest, were all healthy and happy; and to think that he possessed a sure and steady centre of happiness in home, whatever changes and storms shook the outer world, filled the poet with exquisite joy. He found the hall and stairs of his new house well advanced, though he is said to have thought the stairs not proportioned to the size of the rooms. For the rest, the house was "still tolerably uninhabitable,"³ had only emerged "from the very roughest stage,"⁴ thus he had the pleasure of arranging many things himself. Only now did he find quiet in which to answer the letter that he had received from his mother in Trier. He gratefully declined the honour offered by the Frankfurt citizens.⁵ Now too he wrote to excuse himself for having journeyed home direct from Münster

¹ "Heranstrebende Jünglinge." Goethe, *Campagne in Frankreich*.—Tr.

² In the *Goethe-Jahrbuch* for 1882 have been published some letters from the Princess Galitzin to Goethe, and from Goethe to the Princess, ranging between 1793-1801.—Tr.

³ "Ziemlich unwohnbar." Goethe to Jacobi, December 31, 1792.—Tr.

⁴ "Aus dem rohesten eingerichtet." Goethe to Jacobi, December 19, 1792.—Tr.

⁵ Goethe to his mother, December 24, 1792.—Tr.

without attempting to see the Duke. During Goethe's absence Heinrich Meyer had drawn and painted a good deal, in some of his work having regard to Goethe's theory of colour.

The theatre, which had so long been without Goethe's oversight, was now his most pressing care, for most of the actors and the *Regisseur* Fischer were to leave at Easter 1793, and, moreover, the Duke, compelled to limit his expenditure as much as possible, could not promise to give a subsidy in 1793, as he had in 1792. Goethe favoured the bringing out of operettas, as they drew audiences best, and he liked them himself. In his scorn for the doings of men at that time he was attracted by the Low German epic *Reineke Fuchs*, that "uncanonical Bible,"¹ which had been long known to him; he felt the impulse to make a free translation into German hexameters, a task which would be good practice in that kind of verse, a verse very suitable for the poem. The union with Herder remained still close and intimate, and with Knebel Goethe was on the best terms. His official activities at this time were—beside the theatre—the building of the Castle, the "Roman House" in the Park (which the Duke begged Goethe to urge on to completion as fast as possible), and the Ilmenau Mines. He also gave special attentiveness to the two Duchesses and the Duke's children. The Duchess Amalia showed great interest in the Hemsterhuis gems.

In spite of all the stress of work Goethe felt very well, and grew, to use Herder's words, "young, corpulent, and round." His "little one," as he called Christiane, was a very careful and diligent housekeeper, his boy grew gaily, Meyer was industrious and sympathetic,² and a bond of deep affection

¹ "Unheiliger Weltbibel" is Goethe's expression, *Tag- und Jahreshefte*, 1793.—TR.

² These things in Goethe's letter to Jacobi, February 1, 1793.—TR.

clasped the little group. Writing on February 18, 1793, the Duke had asked him to come to Frankfurt in the spring, he could thus quite easily be present at the investment of Mainz. By the beginning of April 1793 Goethe had made up his mind to go. Before departure it was especially necessary to set the affairs of the theatre in order; again, as in 1791, a number of new actors had to be drilled. The office of *Regisseur*, which he had come to dislike, he had now done away with, and had instead introduced a so-called *Wöchner*¹ regularly alternating. On April 16, 1793, the actor Beck had excited general delight in the part of Schnaps in *Die beiden Billets*, an adaptation from the French of Florian. Goethe resolved to use Schnaps and the other figures of the comedy in a humorous satire of those swindlers who for their own selfish purposes were smuggling French "Freedom Ideas" into Germany. A carpet-bag with Jacobin cap, national cockade and uniform, had been picked up on the French frontier by Goethe's servant Paul Götz.² This carpet-bag played its part in the little comedy which Goethe wrote in three days.³ *Der Bürgergeneral* was produced on May 2, 1793, and had tolerable success. At this time *Reineke Fuchs* had been examined by Herder and Knebel, and only awaited the final touches. In April 1793 Goethe, to the best of his ability, looked after the establishment of Jacobi's son Max in Jena University, and there visited him. Max was always a welcome guest in Goethe's house. A few days before departure for Frank-

¹ From *Woche*, a week. Each actor would thus be a *Regisseur* for a week.—TR.

² See the close of the *Campagne in Frankreich*.—TR.

³ In Eckermann's *Gespräche mit Goethe*, February 4, 1829, Goethe will be found to state a week as the time occupied in writing the *Bürgergeneral*. But Professor Düntzer calls attention to Goethe's letter to Herder of June 7, 1793:—"Von dem Moment in dem ich die erste Idee hatte waren keine drei Tage verstrichen, so war es fertig."—TR.

furt Goethe made a pen-and-ink sketch, a charming indication of his joy in quiet home life. On May 12, 1793, Goethe left Weimar. He took with him his manuscripts relating to optics

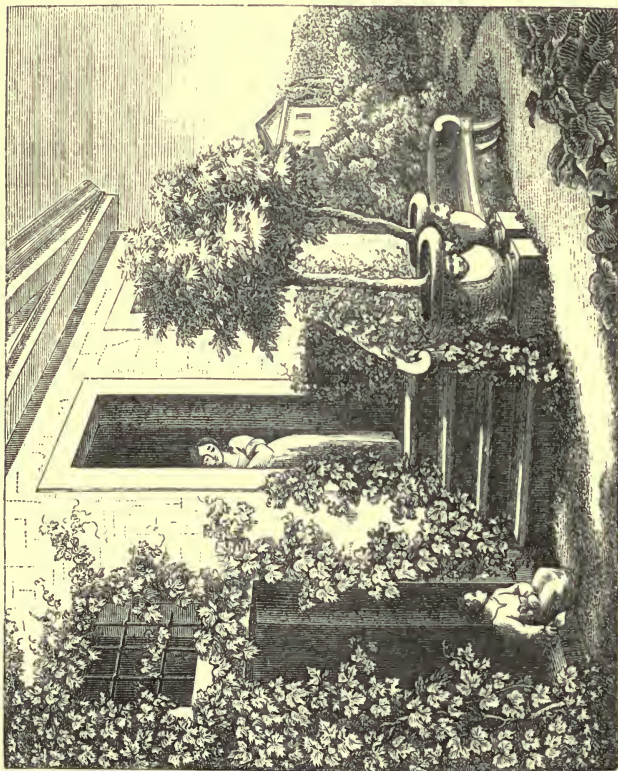


FIG. 5. Pen-and-ink sketch by Goethe. From Schwerdtgeburth's *Radirte Blätter nach Handzeichnungen von Goethe*.

and anatomy, *Reineke Fuchs*, and *Der Bürgergeneral*. His mother, of course, rejoiced to receive her Wolfgang again beneath her roof. Sömmering's presence in Frankfurt was a great advantage to Goethe ; they had delightful and instructive

talk together on the development of animals. As the siege of Mainz proved a slower operation than expected, Goethe only left Frankfurt on May 26, 1793,¹ for the camp of the Duke at Marienborn. He occupied a spacious tent in the front part of the Weimar Regiment. Here he saw the two Princesses of Mecklenburg (betrothed, one to the Crown Prince of Prussia, one to Prince Louis); when they visited the camp, "two heavenly apparitions,"² he watched them from his tent, and did not present himself for introduction, though they had stayed at his mother's house³ and had been won to love her.

After carefully observing the state of the Allies before Mainz for some time, Goethe felt unhappy. He was impressed with the absence of union, and the inadequacy of the measures for reducing the city. He writes to Herder on June 15, 1793:—"My life is very simple. I hardly ever leave my tent now; I correct at *Reineke* and write optical formulæ. I have repeatedly surveyed the situation on our side; but have not yet crossed the water except on a delightful party to the Rheingau. We went [on June 9, 1793] by water to Rüdesheim, explored the vaults, went to the Mouse Tower, then to Bingen, and back to camp by land." The more wretched he felt in witnessing the destruction of war, the more earnestly did he work at his theory of colour; he wrote down parts of it in detail, and made a general sketch of the whole. A couple of times he exposed himself to the enemy's fire in the charnel house at Weisenau, where he went with Gore and Kraus to look for diseased bones

¹ Goethe's letter to Jacobi—"To-morrow I am going to the army" is by mistake dated May 26, 1793; it should be May 25, 1793. Düntzer, *Goethe, und Karl August*, ii. 100.—TR.

² *Belagerung von Mainz*, May 29, 1793.—TR.

³ In September and October 1790. Düntzer, *Frauenbilder aus Goethe's Jugendzeit*, 530-1.—TR.

in order to pathological study.¹ During the negotiations for the surrender of Mainz, Goethe brought his essay on Coloured Shadows to a conclusion. On July 24, 1793, at mid-day, the evacuation of Mainz began. Goethe, with Kraus and Gore, watched the passing French from the windows of a toll-house that formed part of the quarters of the Duke of Weimar. The road was lined with hostile Germans, who lavished taunts and threats on their late invaders. On July 25 Goethe rushed from the toll-house, and saved from the mob one who was recognised as the architect "who had plundered the Deanery and then set it on fire." Goethe peremptorily demanded that the peace should be kept in the precincts of the Duke's quarters.² Popular justice was indeed always distasteful to him. On July 26, 1793, he rode into the desolated city.

Immediately after this Goethe begged the Duke for leave to depart, having seen enough of the sights of war. In Heidelberg, in the house of his old friend, Fräulein Delph, who eighteen years before had brought about his betrothal with Lili, he met his brother-in-law Johann Georg Schlosser. Their intercourse was friendly. Goethe observed how tender Schlosser's nature really was for all his austerity. In Frankfurt³ he had the pleasure of more of those thorough conversations with Sömmering. There, probably, he first heard the sad news of the early death of his good friend Moritz.⁴

The long-desired wanderer was welcomed in his home with

¹ See in Goethe's *Belagerung von Mainz*, the "*Lücke*" that follows June 1793, and the entry of July 15, 1793.—TR.

² *Belagerung von Mainz*, July 25, 1793. This is another of those remarkable occasions on which Goethe showed extraordinary power of controlling a number of excited human beings. See p. 30, *footnote*.—TR.

³ Goethe arrived in Frankfurt about August 10, 1793. —Düntzer, *Goethe, und Karl August*, ii, 116.—TR.

⁴ Karl Philipp Moritz (see p. 12) died June 26, 1793, in Berlin.—TR.

passionate joy.¹ The Frau Rath had begun to correspond with Christiane. Goethe's boy was a source of exquisite delight to him; he writes from Marienborn to Jacobi, July 7, 1793:—"My boy is a happy existence (*glückliches Wesen*), I hope that with his beautiful eyes he will see much that is good and beautiful in the world." During his absence the new house had advanced towards completion, and he found much pleasure in ordering and beautifying it. He was not long in gliding back to the old habits of official activity. His own private work at this time was the chemical part of the Theory of Colour, and the polishing of *Reineke Fuchs*. He was now the most trusty counsellor that the Duchess had. And the intimacy with the Dowager Duchess continued without break.

But there was ere long a sad disturbance of the quiet pleasantness of things in Weimar. On September 6, 1793, Prince Constantin, whose conduct had of late justified the best hopes, succumbed to dysentery. On September 11 the news was known in Weimar. "Strain all your powers to support my mother," wrote the Duke to Goethe.² On October 11, 1793, Goethe writes to Jacobi:—"In my old capacity of helper in need, I have, during the time past, helped in preparing many kinds of distractions for the Duchess Mother, and in doing so have been distracted myself." At the Duke's request Goethe had, moreover, sketched a design for a monument to the officers shot at Mainz; it pleased the Duke, who only enjoined that its execution should not cost more than 100 ducats.

For the opening of the Weimar Theatre in the beginning of October 1793 Goethe did not write a prologue, but he did

¹ The precise date of Goethe's return to Weimar is not known.

² "Spanne alles an, um meine Mutter zu unterstützen." Karl August to Goethe, Pirmasens, September 8, 1793.—TR.

write one for the representation of Goldoni's piece *Der Krieg*.¹ The prologue was spoken by the sometime Christiane Neumann, who had lately married the actor Becker. It speaks of the blessings of peace, and of the joy which will greet the Duke's return to Weimar.

Goethe had now communicated with the Göttingen physicist Lichtenberg, who was friendly at first, being pleased with the poet's exposition of the subjective phenomena of colour. Goethe laboured to give the verse in his translation of *Reineke* that "*aisance* and daintiness which it should have."² Towards the close of the year he had to send the translation to the printer; it was to appear as the second part of *Goethes neue Schriften*; *Der Grosskophtha*, with Cagliostro's pedigree, and *Das Römische Karneval* appeared as the first part. "In order to undertake something infinite,"² he planned to busy himself in Homer again; Homer would satisfy the yearning for a higher ideal world of art.

But soon a domestic sorrow fell upon him. On November 22, 1793, Christiane brought forth a daughter; on December 3 the child was taken away. Goethe's grief was passionate and lasted long. When on December 5, 1793, he writes a few lines to Jacobi, inquiring about an actor's merits, he thus excuses his brevity:—"After the New Year I will say more; for the dark season has brought me dark fortunes, we will await the coming back of the sun."

After this he betook himself to Ilmenau, to be present at the meeting of shareholders fixed for December 9, 1793. It was necessary to make the unpleasant communication that from the mine, (which had now been worked since September 2, 1792), and from the foundries there was a poor yield.

¹ Goethe's brother-in-law, Vulpius, had made a new adaptation of Goldoni's *La Guerra, commedia di tre atti in prosa*.—TR.

² Goethe to Jacobi, November 18, 1793.—TR.

The meeting was so badly attended that they had to appoint a new one to take place in the spring of 1794.

The return of the Duke on December 15, 1793, was a great joy to Goethe. An oppression was lifted from him too by the Duke's resolve to leave military service, and to devote himself solely to the government of his country. The want of union between the two chief German Powers made success impossible, the Duke thought. His decision remained for a time a closely guarded secret. It was not until February 6, 1794, that the King of Prussia completed the dismissal of the Duke, with an expression of regret at losing so valuable a general.

In December 1793 Mozart's *Hochzeit des Figaro* (*Le Nozze di Figaro*) had been produced on the Weimar stage. On January 13, 1794, followed with great success *Die Zauberflöte* (*El Flauto Magico*), and, on the birthday of the Duchess, Paisiello's *König Theodor in Venedig*.¹ There was besides no lack of important new plays in the prevalent taste.

In February 1794 Goethe called the Duke's attention to the bad condition of the nursery of young trees, and of the botanical arrangements at the Prince's Garden (*Fürstengarten*) of Jena. The Duke ordered minute investigation and a report. Goethe communicated with Professor Batsch (who in 1793 had founded in Jena a society for the study of Natural History, naming as honorary members Goethe, Herder, and Schiller, beside others). Goethe also begged the Duke to appoint a formal commission in order to more effective action, and to give him Christian Gottlob Voigt as fellow-commissioner. Voigt and Goethe reported in accordance with the opinions of Batsch. But as the Court gardener had a right to the profits of the greater part of the garden,

¹ *Il Re Teodoro in Venezia*, written by Casti. Cp. Goethe's *Zweiter Römischer Aufenthalt*, July 17, 1787, and p. 36 of this volume.—Tr.

the commissioners could only procure that Batsch should be given a house and a moderate portion of the upper garden.

The theatre (which at Easter 1794 was again to lose a number of its trained actors), the building of the new Castle, the completion of the "Roman House" in the Park, his own scientific labours and many other things, so engaged the poet that he writes:—"I am carrying on a regular *Quodlibet* of industry."¹ In concert with Voigt, Goethe dissuaded the Duke from parcelling out his estates; if this were to take place, it would be much more profitable after some time. Goethe, to his great regret, was unable to be present at the meeting of shareholders at Ilmenau on April 28, 1794, because of some rebuilding at the back of his house, besides an expected actress had broken her engagement and he was in difficulty about the theatre. (In the back part of the house lived Christiane, and with her, we do not know from what date precisely, her sister and an aunt.) The shareholders resolved on suitable measures for the improvement of the mine, but a good many withdrew.

Shortly before this Heinrich Meyer had gone to Dresden in order to study the gallery, and to make a copy of some important picture for the "Roman House." *Reineke Fuchs* was now in print; it interested even Schiller. But it was a much more important matter when Goethe resolved to publish in the following volumes of his *Neue Schriften* a completely revised *Wilhelm Meister*. This work, the first six books of which had been completed in a long lapse of years,² and as to the continuing and enrichment of which he had thought and planned so much, still lay upon him as a heavy burthen that he must

¹ Goethe to Sömmering, February 17, 1794. See also Goethe to Schiller, December 30, 1795:—"Mein Leben ist, diese vier Wochen her, ein solches *Quodlibet*."—TR.

² Vol. i. p. 432.

be free from before he could rise to a new work of significance.

Fichte had lately made himself known as a bold untrammelled thinker, and now, through the ardent mediation of Christian Gottlob Voigt and with Goethe's approval, had been summoned as professor to Jena.¹ On some day later than the middle of May 1794, he called on Goethe, who expected a great deal of result from his coming to Jena, but who recommended him to be very prudent. And on June 2, 1794, Voss, the translator of Homer, came to Weimar by Wieland's invitation. Wieland invited Herder and Voss to dinner; an invitation of Goethe had been prevented by Voss himself, who feared Goethe's "ministerial countenance" and 'haughtiness." But Herder and Wieland urged that he must not omit to see the poet, who was formal rather than haughty. Goethe, recognising the importance of Voss and desiring to learn of the great Homeric, the master of hexameter, asked him even before he called to come and dine on June 5. Herder and Wieland were invited also. "The noble house, splendid with the statues and paintings of old times," surprised the rector from Eutin. "We seated ourselves at table and talked of Italy and Greece. I noticed that Goethe often observed me acutely. He grew livelier by degrees. After dinner we moved to his Garden Room and drank coffee. He read letters from the painter Meyer, a noble being. . . . Then he showed some of Meyer's pictures, enchantingly beautiful. The conversation became very cordial and intimate, Goethe turned to me and asked why I was going away so soon; I might give him one more day. I gave him my hand and promised to stay a day longer." Goethe invited him to come and see the statues and paintings

¹ It was however to Hufeland that in the first instance this was due. See Diintzer, *Goethe und Karl August*, December 1793 (ii. 128).—Tr.

next morning, and to dine in the same companionship. That evening Voss went to Herder. "We were summoned to tea and found the Wielands, Goethe, Böttiger, and von Knebel. All came round me and desired to hear this or that about my researches in Homer." At the general desire Voss read aloud from his new translation of the *Odyssey*, which had not hitherto pleased in Weimar. But now, delivered by its author, it had a wonderful effect. Goethe came up to Voss and pressed his hand for such a Homer!. At tea Goethe sat beside Voss and was unusually cheerful; the conversation centred in Homer. On June 6, 1794, Voss, with Herder and Wieland, spent a happy day at Goethe's. In the afternoon Goethe took Voss to the *Fürstenhaus* and showed him paintings, and then introduced him to the Duchess, whom he thought very attractive. "Voss has been here," writes Goethe on June 9, 1794, to Meyer; "a right worthy amiable man, and one who is really serious about what he does, for which reason his affairs will not thoroughly prosper in Germany. It was a great pleasure to me to have seen him and spoken to him, and to have heard from his own lips the axioms by which he works. Thus now through the medium of his personality that is comprehensible which on general grounds we find inharmonious." Voss had spoken very unfavourably of the hexameter of *Reineke*, had indeed condemned altogether the plan of translating the poem in that metre. Voss failed to recognise Goethe's purpose, which demanded a light kind of verse. That *Reineke* needed a great deal of filing was acknowledged by the author himself, and he would have been glad of detached hints from the master of hexameter; but that condemnation prevented further discussion.

Immediately after this visit of Voss, Herder, whose translation of Balde had pleased Goethe, received the first book of *Wilhelm Meister*, "which now as re-written still needs

many a stroke of the pen, not to make it good, but only that it may, a sort of pseudo-confession, be lifted from my heart and neck." To Knebel also a transcript was sent. Goethe invited these two friends to dine with him on the coming Sunday, June 15, 1794.

But before that Sunday an incident occurred to which is due the wonderful alliance which gave to Goethe's life and to German literature an impulsion such as no other external fact before or since has given. A spirit of equal birth advanced towards him, one incapable of underprizing him, one thoroughly aware of his incomparable worth. On May 15, 1794, Schiller with restored health had returned to Jena from his home, whither he had gone last year to recruit. He had discussed with Cotta the publishing of a periodical, from which he hoped the most extraordinary result. Already he had enlisted as co-workers Fichte, the historian Woltmann lately summoned to Jena, and Wilhelm von Humboldt, when on June 13, 1794, he sent the prospectus of the projected review, *Die Horen* (*Horae*) to Goethe, accompanied by a request for aid. Schiller's personal appeal to Goethe was extremely respectful. Goethe replied on June 24, 1794. In the interim he had felt the chill of Herder's ethically narrow criticism of *Wilhelm Meister*, and had read with warm interest the first sheets of Fichte's *Wissenschaftslehre*. "I will, with joy, with my whole heart, be of the company," he writes. And again:—"A close alliance with such excellent men will certainly bring again into active current and circulation much in me that has fallen into stagnation." He ends by saying that he hopes soon to talk over face to face the principles on which the contributions sent in are to be judged. Six days before Goethe wrote this letter Voigt writes to Hufeland that in future Goethe will come to Jena more often and make longer stay there; and Goethe, on June

28, 1794, tells Charlotte von Kalb that Schiller since his return has been much more friendly and trustful towards the Weimarians.

Meantime Goethe worked steadily on *Wilhelm Meister* and at natural science. He made new experiments on colour, and classified them, and already the whole began to seem to him no longer infinite.¹ At this time he suffered a good deal by the "Freedom" vertigo of Knebel, Herder, and Wieland, whose conduct seemed to him to border on insanity. Not until about July 21, 1794 (by which date Herder also had joined the *Die Horen* enterprise), did Goethe come to Jena. There he found in a penetrating conversation with Schiller on the Beautiful and on Art intellectual enjoyment such as had been long unknown to him. An unexpected harmony of ideas between them, Schiller tells Körner, had been found, while there was the greatest difference in their points of view; each had been able to give the other something and receive something in turn. Fichte also was visited by Goethe; the poet set forth the philosopher's own system with a conciseness and clearness such as Fichte himself could not have excelled.

On July 25, 1794, Goethe had to start with the Duke for Dessau. Thence he went on to Leipzig and Dresden; in Dresden he spent a delightful week with Meyer, and derived thorough benefit from his visits to the Gallery.² When back in Weimar Goethe received a remarkable letter³ from Schiller, witnessing the deepest reverence and an ardent longing for closer league together. Goethe wrote a friendly reply from Ettersburg on August 27, 1794. "How great a gain for me your sym-

¹ Goethe to Sömmering, July 16, 1794. Düntzer, *Goethe und Karl August*, ii. 142.—Tr.

² Goethe to Jacobi, Weimar, September 8, 1794: "Ich war auf acht Tage in Dresden und habe mir auf der Gallerie was rechts zu Gute gethan."—Tr.

³ Schiller to Goethe, August 23 1794.—Tr.

pathy will be you will soon perceive when, on closer acquaintance, you discover in me a kind of obscurity and hesitation that I cannot master, clearly aware as I am of their existence. . . . I hope soon to spend some time with you, and then we will thoroughly discuss many things." Meantime they wrote often to each other letters of mutual confidences. The bad news from the Rhine frontier made Goethe anxious. His mother had already packed up and sent her belongings to Langensalza. Some rooms in her son's house were prepared for her.

On September 4, 1794, Goethe asks Schiller to come on September 14, and stay with him for a while, as the Court is going to Eisenach. Schiller shall be perfectly free to work and live as he pleases. In the beginning of September 1794 Goethe visited Charlotte von Stein again after a silence of some years.¹ (Of late he had been writing to Fritz, who was gone to London.) The purport of Goethe's visit was to request Charlotte von Stein to manage with Schiller's help the introduction of a writing-desk, a gift from Goethe to Charlotte Schiller, into the room of the latter while she was away from home.

The interval between September 14 and September 27, 1794, was passed by Schiller and Goethe in the most intimate exchange of confidence. Goethe read the *Römische Elegien* to Schiller, talked of many literary plans, of contributions to the *Horen*, of the nature of poetic composition, showed beautiful pictures, did not forget his own scientific studies, urged Schiller to finish the tragedy *Die Malteser*, begun long ago, urged him also to retouch *Fiesko*, and *Kabale und Liebe*, and Goethe's *Egmont* for the stage; entered on the project of establishing a *Musen-almanach*, and by his genuine good-will and cordial frankness won Schiller's entire trust. Now, when Goethe was happy in his house, his family life, his true art friend Meyer; when

¹ Herr von Stein had died in December 1793.—TR.

Herder was following an altogether different æsthetic bias ; when the French freedom madness was alienating many, no better fortune could have been his than the alliance with such a mighty spirit as Schiller ; an alliance destined to produce a perfect Art-Poetry, to send forth exquisite lyrical blossoms of varied form, to idealise German burgher life in an epos that can never die, to elevate and inspire the German stage, to give new solidity and matter to the æsthetic estimate in literature and art.

BOOK VII.
THE DIOSCURI
1794—1805

CHAPTER I.

THE FIRST THREE YEARS OF UNION WITH SCHILLER. *THE HOREN—WILHELM MEISTER—HERMANN UND DOROTHEA—BALLADS.* THE THIRD SWISS JOURNEY.

OCTOBER 1794—NOVEMBER 1797.

POETRY, plastic art, the theatre, natural science, family life, the Court, official duty, still interwove through Goethe's life; but now the ever-closing union with Schiller was like a fresh stream, whose current, directed over dry and unfruitful tracts, fills with a new life things that had seemed to languish, and brings from the soil many a growth unthought of before. Schiller, it is true, did not agree with Goethe in everything, but he was tolerant, and always recognised his greatness as an artist, as a man of science, as a human soul. The rich *Correspondence* that sprang from the friendship is its imperishable memorial.

Goethe would have been glad to remain on the old intimate terms with Herder, not only because of Herder's own worth, but for the sake of the Duke and on account of *Die Horen*; cordiality was, however, rendered impossible by the continual divergence of their views and by Herder's jealousy of Schiller. The starting of a new periodical was a severe blow to Wieland, for the *Merkur* would certainly be injured. But in this matter pacification was easier.

About the middle of October 1794 came the welcome return of Heinrich Meyer from Dresden. On November 2, 1794, Goethe went with Meyer to Jena. He had there free use of the rooms on the first story of the Castle, which earlier had been allotted to Knebel. These were the first on the left hand looking into the courtyard, and a couple adjoining that now contain part of the collection of minerals. For many years they were to be the hallowed place of his meditation and invention. His simple fare was served to him in them. On this visit in November 1794 there were manifold conversations with Schiller and the two brothers Humboldt (for Chief Director of Mines (*Oberbergmeister*) Alexander von Humboldt of Freiberg was at this time in Jena). With Schiller *Die Horen* was discussed, and another periodical, *Der Musenalmanach*, which a young bookseller at Neustrelitz had offered to publish on good terms. For the sake of readers who desire amusement, Goethe had it in mind to write a series of tales for *Die Horen* which should be connected by a thread running through them all; these he hoped to contribute *beside* his *Wilhelm Meister*, whose printing had just begun. The plan of bringing out Schiller's play *Die Malteser* on the birthday of the Duchess had to be abandoned, as Schiller was absorbed in other things.

In Weimar the Friday Society had been reopened on October 31, 1794; the meetings were now held weekly in Goethe's house. At each meeting Goethe read a canto from Voss's translation of the *Iliad*, and this would suggest many and various observations. Beside his literary work, he toiled hard at optics; he now had gathered a really valuable stock of apparatus. His zeal for optics was the more ardent because there his intellect found a many-sided exercise such as no other pursuit could afford.

At the Duchess Amalia's he continued to be a frequent and welcome visitor. There he met and was charmed by the

young Maid of Honour, Henriette von Wolfskeel-Reichenberg, who had come last year from Stuttgart. She was graceful and

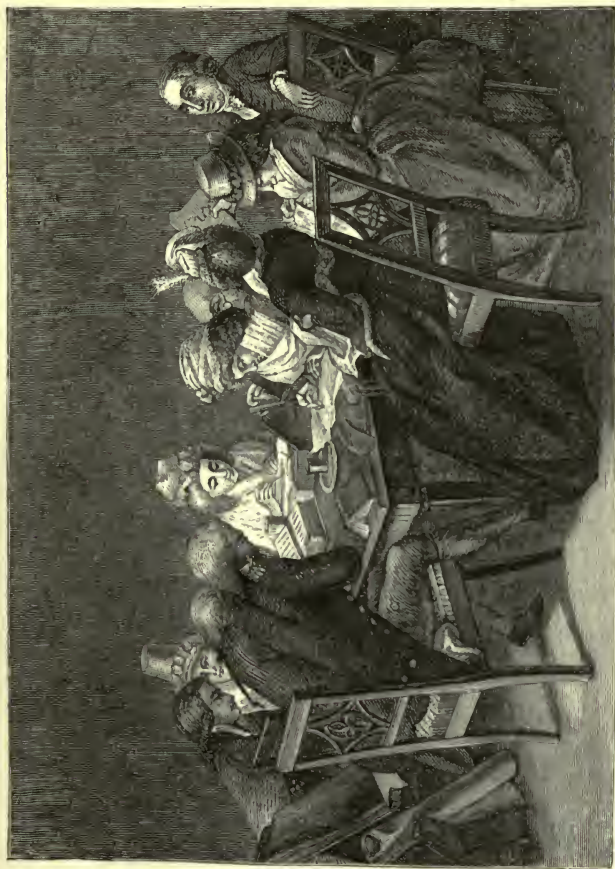


FIG. 6. The evening circle of the Duchess Amalia. From a drawing in colour by J. M. Kraus.

tender ; she sang with inspiration, and played with exquisite finish on the harp. Goethe found it pleasant to trifle gaily

with her; he would call the merry little Swabian "*Kehle*"¹ and "*Kehlchen*" and "*Kamerädle*." In the year 1830² he recalled the pleasant hours at the Duchess Amalia's, when the "pretty being the '*Kehle*' tripped about and said '*Silly Geheimrath*;' " he used often then to improvise a tale of some merit. We give an engraving of the sketch in colours by Kraus of the evening circle at the Duchess Amalia's. The Duchess is painting; to her left is Charles Gore, who has just been reading aloud, and is looking over his spectacles at the Duchess; then comes Elise Gore, also painting; Emilie Gore, stitching, has looked up at a sketch which Herder is holding before her, and at her side is Fräulein Göchhausen very busy with her sewing. On the other side of the table Meyer leans to watch Goethe, who is probably sketching or painting; beyond them is Fräulein Wolfskeel, who seems to be making some saucy remark. The figure nearest us is Einsiedel, who is bent over a book.

On January 11, 1795, Goethe came with Meyer to Jena, where he stayed until January 23. In this time, beside *Die Horen*, Schiller and he discussed the Third Book of *Wilhelm Meister*, and many matters in æsthetics. With Meyer and the two Humboldts Goethe used to wade through deep snow to hear Loder lecture on Syndesmology from eight to ten o'clock in the almost empty Anatomic Theatre.³ At the instance of the Humboldts he dictated the *Erster Entwurf zu einer allgemeinen Einleitung in die allgemeine*

¹ *Kehle* means the throat, then the voice the "pipe." "Sie hat eine herrliche Kehle" would mean—"She has a sweet voice." *Kehlchen* is the diminutive of *Kehle*.—Tr.

² *Goethe's Unterhaltungen mit Kanzler von Müller*, March 1, 1830. See the note on the passage.—Tr.

³ In the *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte* for 1794 Goethe misdates this attendance on Loder's lectures and Götting's experiments. Düntzer, *Goethe und Karl August*, ii. 156.—Tr.

*Anatomic.*¹ He was present at Professor Götting's experiments on the burning of phosphorus in nitrogen.

When back in Weimar Goethe was busily occupied by the Theatre and the Court *Redoutes*. Not until Palm Sunday, March 29, 1795, could he get away for any considerable time. He stayed in Jena until May 2. *Wilhelm Meister* and the contributions for *Die Horen* were the chief subject of conversation. Goethe felt a passing inspiration to higher poetry: he wrote the very fine beginning of a *Prometheus Unbound* in the antique style.² He had a great deal of intercourse with Batsch, Loder, and Götting. During his stay he had a forcing house erected in the gardens, and works to confine the Saale to a straight course among the meadows were urged on. Of the dreary politics of the time Goethe desired to know nothing.

When he returned to Weimar on May 2, 1795, he found his family healthy and happy; his domestic existence at that time turned quietly on its axis, so that—his intellectual life also being provided for—he had nothing left to desire.³ Meyer had been very diligent; his design and his execution were better every day, Goethe thought.⁴ For a few days after his return Goethe suffered a good deal from a swollen cheek; during the lonely sleepless hours he meditated all his Theory of Colour over, and already thought that he could draw the main threads. He worked on at his novel also, and minutely revised the *Römische Elegien*, which were to appear in the *Horen*. *Claudine*, with music by Reichardt, was diligently

¹ *First Sketch of a General Introduction to General Anatomy*. See Hempel's *Goethe*, xxxiii. 189.—TR.

² See Düntzer's monograph *Prometheus und Pandora*; and Düntzer, *Goethe's lyrische Gedichte*, i. 229. What Goethe wrote has been lost.—TR.

³ Goethe to Jacobi, February 2, 1795.—TR.

⁴ Goethe to Schiller, May 12, 1795.—TR.

rehearsed, and was performed on May 30, 1795, but without any remarkable success.

On a short visit to Jena in the beginning of June 1795, Goethe made the acquaintance of the great Halle philologist Friedrich August Wolf. Wolf was a friend of Wilhelm von Humboldt, through whom we hear how interested Goethe was in Wolf immediately, how attracted by the critical acuteness and the thoroughness of method of the epoch-making *Prolegomena ad Homerum*. Immediately upon his return to Weimar (June 4, 1795) Goethe was tormented by a new swelling in his cheek; the great pain and the means of cure resorted to affected him very much, yet he laboured on without ceasing. To fortify his system against the recurrence of these attacks he resolved to visit Karlsbad, where the baths ten years before had done him so much good under like circumstances.

On the journey to Karlsbad Goethe enjoyed a few days of interesting intercourse with Schiller (June 29—July 2). In these days he hit on the idea for the *Märchen* that concludes the *Unterhaltungen deutscher Ausgewanderten*. Amid bad weather he pushed on to Karlsbad, shortening the way by brooding over some *Märchen* that hovered in his mind. In Karlsbad there was so much society and excitement that he found literary work impossible. It gladdened him to see so many human beings gathered together from all German lands. And with the lovely Marianne Meyer,¹ daughter of a rich Jewish banker in Berlin, he played a little romantic love drama.

¹ Marianne Meyer, afterwards Frau von Eybenberg, was at Karlsbad in the company of Rahel Levin. Her sister, Sara Meyer, afterwards Frau von Grotthus, was also a friend of Goethe's. Both sisters were exquisitely graceful and charming. See Düntzer, *Schiller und Goethe*, 82 and 136. Strehlke, *Verzeichniss von Goethe's Briefen*, i. 174, 226; Fürst, *Henriette Herz*, 150-155.—TR.

On his return he delayed but a few hours in Jena.¹ Now he heard from Schiller how the Duke thought that the *Römische Elegien* ought not to have been published in the *Horen*. Goethe must have been strangely moved to find the Duke in his letter to Schiller denying to these anxiously wrought and polished poems "the most perfect degree of finish," and calling the publication of them one of the freaks which should be proscribed by "all those who by the name which destiny has bestowed on them are marked out to be the leaders and forefathers of the literary race." The Duke was annoyed because he had formerly dissuaded Goethe from publishing the *Elegien*. Herder, it will be remembered, had opposed their publication at the same time, and he, too, was annoyed; and many others who denied the ample poetic right in the matter which Goethe asserted. For the sake of Schiller Goethe now undertook to translate for the *Horen* the greater part of the Autobiography of Benvenuto Cellini, nay, he actually thought of giving Schiller parts of *Faust*.

After his return to Weimar (August 1795) Goethe's first occupation was to arrange the *Venediger Epigramme* for the *Musenalmanach* and to continue *Wilhelm Meister*. Meyer was to go to Italy very soon; Goethe meant to follow in the August of 1796, for he had planned to join with Meyer in the production of a great work on Italy. Starting from a consideration of the peculiar characteristics of the country, they meant to unfold the political and intellectual history of the people, and Natural History was not to be omitted.

Now came word that the water had broken out anew at Ilmenau. On August 24, 1795, Goethe hastened with Voigt to the unlucky spot, where he found an extraordinary quantity of work to be done, especially as Voigt soon had to go back to Weimar. Goethe had brought his five-year-old August with

¹ About August 10, 1795. Düntzer, *Goethe und Karl August*.—Tr.

him, and very cheering was the companionship of the boy, who observed with fresh childlike interest all that Goethe was tired of looking at and thinking about during the past nineteen years.¹ August interested and delighted his father with his naïve talk and questions; it was like Felix and Wilhelm Meister. A little ideal miner-costume was made for August, and was for a time his ordinary dress. On the Duke's birthday (September 3, 1795) August marched with the miners, but he would not enter the church.

On September 6, 1795, Goethe returned from Ilmenau to Weimar. Beside his *Meister*, the *Märchen*, and other contributions to the *Horen*, he had the preparations for Meyer's journey to Italy and the plan of the work on Italy to consider. "Meyer is preparing for departure," writes Goethe to Schiller on September 14, 1795, "and is still engaged on a drawing in colour of the *Parcæ*, which you must see. I wish him only health, he has every other good thing. He is a noble being. As for me, I too, as you probably feel, have of late stood but with one foot, with the other have been moving towards the Alps. The mineralogic and geologic basis, the beginning and growth and decay of civilisation, I have sought to attack from below, sometimes going to the bottom of the matter, sometimes treating with a rapid glance; and in my attack from above, too, from the Art side, have a common understanding with Meyer on everything. And yet all these are but school preparations. May a good spirit help us to see, to understand aright, and bring about a joyful meeting."

On September 23, 1795, Goethe tells Schiller that the *Märchen* is finished. Immediately after this very bad news came from the Rhine. The fall of Mannheim and the retreat of the Imperial army from the Lahn caused general dismay. The Landgraf of Darmstadt came with two hundred horse to

¹ *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte* for 1795.—TR.

Eisenach ; the French *émigrés*, who had hitherto found refuge in Darmstadt, now threatened an invasion of Central Germany;¹ already the Elector of Mainz had left his temporary resting-place in Aschaffenburg, and was expected in Erfurt. Meanwhile to Karl August had come the thought of sending Goethe to Frankfurt for a few weeks that he might report on all occurring in the neighbourhood, and on the negotiations for peace there pending. While awaiting more exact instructions as to this very disagreeable task, Goethe laboured on *Meister*, for which the publisher was eager, and aided in fitting out Meyer, the Duke having contributed a hundred thalers to that object. On October 2, 1795, when Meyer starts, we find Goethe so busy that he cannot go as far as Jena with his friend.

On October 5, 1795, Goethe rode to Jena and spent a few hours with Schiller. On October 11 he went to join the Duke at Eisenach. But on October 16 the Duke said that he need not go to Frankfurt, retaining him, however, for a time in Eisenach. "What an empty life the life of distraction is," he laments to Schiller on October 17, 1795. And the complaisance which the Duke and Duchess showed to the French aristocratic refugees had long spoiled the Court for Goethe. On October 21 he hurried back to Weimar, fearing that Christiane was about to be prematurely confined.

In Weimar he busied himself with his Italian papers, especially those about architecture. In reply to his observation of October 25 that in his house a new citizen of the world was expected to arrive any day, Schiller writes:—"Let it be a girl, and thus we shall yet be related as fathers-in-law." On November 1, 1795, Goethe writes:—"Instead of a pretty girl a tender boy has arrived, and thus one of my cares is laid in the cradle. Now it is your business, in order to the father-

¹ Goethe to Schiller, September 26, 1795.—TR.

in-lawship and the increase of the poetic family, to provide a girl." Four days later Goethe went to Jena and stayed there a week, joining in the celebration of Schiller's birthday. He expounded his views on architecture with remarkable clearness to the interested and delighted Schiller; and they talked a great deal of his labours in optics and morphology, which he wished to be done with before his new visit to Italy. The thought of Greek literature and art was made so vivid and real by their talk that Schiller resolved to resume the study of Greek. Goethe promised a new *Märchen* for the *Horen*, and tried to cheer Schiller, whom the many attacks on his periodical had made downhearted.

On November 17, 1795, Goethe's youngest child—his second boy—died. An agony of sorrow rent his soul. The deep sympathy of Schiller, the friendly reception of the third volume of *Meister* and of the *Märchen*, and the hope of Italy helped this time to lift and sustain his spirit. For a short time there was a total ebb of literary inspiration and desire. But the anger excited by Friedrich Stolberg's Christian preface to a translation of *Selected Dialogues of Plato*, and again by Lichtenberg's attitude towards his own scientific work¹ had a salutary effect. He now read with great pleasure the first part of Schiller's essay *On the Sentimental*, in which he was himself spoken of with great reverence. Only towards the close of November did he resume work on *Meister*. It now became his chief anxiety to complete this novel. And he advanced rapidly, though in December 1795 he lost a great deal of time through the gaiety of life at Court. At this time Goethe endeavoured to procure some representations on the Weimar stage from Iffland, but without success. The management of the theatre brought so much that was unpleasant on him, that in a moment of disgust he wrote to the Duke begging to be

¹ Goethe to Schiller, November 21, 1795.—TR.

relieved. But the Duke promised to do his best to make matters pleasanter, and Goethe consented to go on.

Herder's ill-will towards Goethe had now grown so bitter that he would not write to him, but procured what he might want of him through Knebel.¹ And Wieland's feeling towards the two great allied poets was a very bitter one, though they had treated him with marked respect in the *Horen*.

Goethe, always planning aid for Schiller's enterprises, now hit on a remarkable scheme. Instead of meeting the sharp hostility of the critics of the *Horen* by counter criticism, they would make a number of epigrams in the manner of Martial's *Xenia* for insertion in all periodicals, and afterwards publish a selection of the best in the *Musen Almanach*. On the 23d of December 1795 we find him sending a few distichs to Schiller; three days later a dozen fresh ones; "with a hundred like these we could recommend ourselves to the public as well as to our fellow-contributors." Schiller entered enthusiastically into the project; only, to complete the century it would be necessary to attack individual works, and what a rich material they would have there! Further, if they were not particular about sparing themselves, they might grapple with things sacred as with things profane. Goethe writes on December 30, 1795:—"We have only to put into verse what the fools say about us and so be sheltered beneath the form of irony." Thus before the close of the year 1795, the tribunal was established by which the two poets working in fellowship purified the atmosphere before proceeding to their greater creations. The gradual development of the *Xenien* is a remarkable story.

Meyer was now in Rome; his communications thence were

¹ See Düntzer, *Goethe und Karl August*, ii. 175, 178. See also Knebel's and Goethe's correspondence in the three last months of 1795.—Tr.

giving Goethe a great deal of pleasure. "We will pursue our way very quietly but very obstinately," Goethe writes to Meyer on December 30, 1795. Meyer was to him in art what Schiller was in literature.

In the beginning of the New Year 1796 he succeeded in getting away to spend with Schiller a couple of happy weeks (January 3-14), during which he ran through the whole circle of Schiller's labours in the theory of æsthetics, thus fortifying himself for his own work in science. The theatre and the preparation of a masque for the Duchess's birthday *Redoute* hastened his return to Weimar. He found the distraction very trying. On February 12, 1796, three days after Shrove Tuesday, he writes to Schiller:—"I am still suffering indescribably by the Carnival"—being the master of ceremonies—"by the repeated arrival of foreign princes our theatrical and dancing merry-makings are confused and increased." The partiality of the Court for the exiles, to whom the Duke had now opened the whole land, grew more and more displeasing to Goethe. He clung closer than ever to Schiller, who was sorely tortured just then with spasms. Goethe spent the interval from February 16 to March 16 in Jena. During that time *Wilhelm Meister's Lehrjahre* and plastic art were zealously discussed. But the most important thing to note of this visit is that Goethe urged Schiller earnestly to go to work on *Wallenstein*, and the latter began to devote his best time to the play. Charlotte von Stein came one day to Jena and visited the Schillers (February 24); she wrote to Fritz afterwards that Goethe has become "horribly stout," "has regularly become earth," while the invalid Schiller looked "like a heavenly genius," "the pallid repose of his countenance made him interesting."

After Goethe's return to Weimar he drew near to Wieland for a time, aiding him to revise *Oberon*. Iffland had at last found it possible to promise a series of representations in

Weimar. In order to be present at these the Schillers came from Jena on March 23, 1796, to spend a few weeks,—Schiller with Goethe, Charlotte Schiller and her two-year-old boy Karl with Charlotte von Stein. During their stay Goethe's August, as Karl's playmate, used often to go to Charlotte von Stein's house. She was interested in him. "I can often," she writes to Fritz Stein, "distinguish in him the more noble nature of the father and the baser of the mother." The Weimar theatre had no boxes. Goethe had one erected for the sufferer Schiller, who was then brought thither in a carriage. A certain number of the assemblies at Goethe's house during Iffland's stay were invited in Schiller's name. The great actor appeared in Schiller's *Die Räuber* on April 16, 1796. As Goethe wished to see him in *Egmont* also, Schiller had been employed in preparing that play for representation, which was done with relentless mangling.¹ Iffland's very conscientious and finished presentation of the hero pleased Goethe so well that he resolved never to entrust the part to any other actor. He offered the managership of the theatre to Iffland, who refused, saying, however, that on certain conditions he would accept the post of *Regisseur*. Goethe, writing about April 18, 1796,² tells Meyer that Iffland has "brought to life again the almost lost conception of dramatic art." *Egmont* gave such pleasure to the enthusiastic Charlotte von Kalb that she could not help expressing her warmest gratitude to the poet. Such an instance of fresh, ardent, friendly sympathy would be the more precious to Goethe as the Court, devoted to its *émigrés*, was then rather cold towards him.

On May 3, 1796, Goethe hurried to Jena, where he hoped to finish *Wilhelm Meister's Lehrjahre* in peace. He found there Schiller's friend Christian Körner and his family, on a

¹ *Ueber das Deutsche Theater*; Hempel's *Goethe*, xxviii. 719.—TR.

² See Düntzer, *Goethe und Karl August*, ii. 182.—TR.

visit to Schiller. Goethe had pleasant intercourse with them. When Körner's sister-in-law, the painter, Dora Stock, casually asked him why he did not marry, he replied gravely that he *was* married, only not ceremonially. And perhaps with this incident we are to connect his bringing Christiane and August once to Jena during his stay there. Some weeks later, on July 13, 1796, he writes to Schiller: "To-day, I too live to see a remarkable epoch; my marriage-state is just eight years and the French Revolution seven years old." In the same letter he excuses his non-appearance at the christening of Schiller's second son by saying that these ceremonies depress him too much.

Wishing to contribute to the *Musenalmanach* some more worthy offering than the stinging rhymes of the *Xenien*, he brooded over lyric poems of the most various kind, for his creative energy continually craved new forms and new notes. The noble idyll *Alexis und Dora* was finished in a few days. The delicious parody *Musen und Grazien in der Mark* was another product of this time, beside a number of earnest and tender *Sprüche*. The project of writing a ballad *Hero und Leander* was not carried out. Goethe was also during this visit to Jena very busy with science, particularly optics, and even with many official duties. At length he had to set hard to work at *Wilhelm Meister*, which progressed so well that he stayed on in Jena. For the passage of the French over the Mincio had put an end to the delightful hope of seeing Italy again in August.¹ One whom Goethe now met for the first time was August Wilhelm Schlegel. Goethe tells Meyer that Schlegel is with them as to the fundamental ideas of æsthetics, is a very good head, awake and active and skilful, only he seems to have a democratic tendency.² During the prolonga-

¹ Cp. Goethe to Jacobi, Weimar, June 12, 1796.—TR.

² Goethe to Meyer, Jena, May 20, 1796.—TR.

tion of his stay Goethe was cheered by the presence of his little August, who used to play in the Castle courtyard beneath his father's windows with the daughter of the University *Stallmeister*. This little girl, born in Jena, May 15, 1786, was Luise Seidler, afterwards a well-known painter. From her we learn¹ with what infinite love the poet hung on every act and word of the beautiful little fellow in the charmingly becoming miner-costume. Father and son used to feed the pigeons together; and when the two children were playing beneath the window Goethe would lean out and let some sweetmeat dangle by a string to the children, and when at length they succeeded in capturing it he would laugh heartily.

When Goethe returned to Weimar² he laboured steadily at *Wilhelm Meister*; his studies in science held on a parallel course; and there were *Sprüche* of many kinds composed. It was a great relief that the Court was at Wilhelmsthal, for this gave him complete leisure, as the Duchess Amalia, who was stopping in Tiefurt, did not require any attendance from him.

On June 17, 1796, Goethe met Jean Paul for the first time. Jean Paul had come to Weimar at the urgent invitation of Charlotte von Kalb, who was one of his most enthusiastic admirers. Knebel conducted him to Goethe, with whom he dined twice during his stay. Goethe writes to Schiller on June 29, 1796:—"I am glad that you have seen Richter; his love of truth and his desire to learn have made me feel well towards him. Yet the sociable man is a kind of theoretic man, and if I judge aright I doubt that in the practical sense Richter will ever draw near to us, though

¹ See the delightful book *Erinnerungen und Leben der Malerin Louise Seidler . . . bearbeitet von Hermann Uhde*. Berlin, Wilhelm Hertz. (2d Edition 1875).—TR.

² On June 7 or June 8, 1796.—TR.

in the theoretic he inclines much to our way." On June 26, 1796, Goethe sent *the last Book of Wilhelm Meister* to Schiller! During the ten or twelve days following he had so much business to overtake that he could hardly leave the house. Yet he managed to think over the ballad *Hero und Leander*. And a material that some years ago had attracted him now began to seem very well suited for treatment in a form hitherto untried by him—the Burgher Idyll. Any one who reads the letters of Goethe and Schiller of this period will be struck by the wonderful earnestness and thoroughness with which the last book of *Wilhelm Meister* is analysed; Schiller's criticism induced many changes, not always, indeed, improvements. The several hints at a sequel were thus inserted. As the Schillers were expecting the birth of a child, Goethe pressed them (July 9, 1796) to send Karl to Weimar for a while: August would have a welcome playmate, and Karl would be very happy in the companionship of many children who assembled in Goethe's house and garden. Evidently he wanted to see Schiller put away his prejudice against the household of which Christiane was mistress. But Schiller politely refused the invitation.

On Monday, July 11, 1796, Charlotte Schiller bore her second son.¹ At the end of the week Goethe came to Jena and stayed for a few days. He returned to Weimar on the 19th of July.

Very bad news from the seat of war now filled Goethe with anxiety. After a violent bombardment, Frankfurt-am-Main had fallen into French hands, and had been laid under heavy contributions. The only hope of Thüringen now lay in a cordon of neutrality. The treaty between the Electorate of Saxony and the French securing this was concluded success-

¹ The child was christened on Thursday. Goethe would not go to Jena for the christening. See p. 144.—TR.

fully on August 13, 1796. In the meantime Goethe tried to forget political troubles in natural science and in the final revision of the last book of *Wilhelm Meister*,—tried, too, to quiet the longing for Italy. Meyer had gone to Florence, and there Goethe hoped to meet him next spring.¹ An “arrogant”² remark of Jean Paul’s in a letter to Knebel prompted Goethe to the satirical lines *Der Chinese in Rom*; no one then guessed that these lines referred to the poet from Hof. At this time Goethe was much worried by Iffland’s indecision.

But now, on August 18, 1796, began a wonderful six weeks of happiness in Jena by Schiller’s side. During this time the first four cantos (afterwards moulded to five) of *Hermann und Dorothea*—the projected idyll that had widened to an epos—were composed in nine days. Every evening what had been written during the day was read aloud at Schiller’s and was received with warm delight by worthy hearers. Goethe, who was in the most exalted mood, would shed tears of joy when he came to passages of genuine poetic beauty.³ Yet even in Jena all kinds of business sought him out. But the affairs of the theatre alone had power to annoy him. This was not merely because of Iffland’s conduct, but because the Duke did not approve of offering to Iffland the post designed for him by Goethe. Goethe still continued to wish that Iffland would undertake the entire management of the theatre. He writes in his excitement:—“For all our efforts we have neither from above nor below a shadow of gratitude to expect, and in the main I daily perceive more

¹ Goethe to Meyer, August 1, 1796. In the *Goethe-Jahrbuch* for 1882 are published four of Goethe’s letters to Heinrich Meyer, ranging from July to September 1796. One of them had been published in fragment by Riemer, whose omissions, as Ludwig Geiger observes, are unaccountable.—TR.

² Goethe to Schiller, August 10, 1796.—TR.

³ See Düntzer, *Schiller und Goethe*, S. 98.—TR.

clearly that the relation, for me especially, is thoroughly unbecoming.”¹

On October 3, 1796, he was summoned to Weimar; the exhibition of the pictures of the Drawing Academy was nearly at an end, and the Duke wished for his presence at the distribution of prizes. And he accordingly returned on October 5, 1796. The cantos of *Hermann und Dorothea* that had been written in Jena were now carefully revised. His other chief occupation for a time was Natural Science, the subject of most of the lectures that he delivered at the Friday Assemblies, which recommenced then. All hope of Iffland was gone, the National Theatre at Berlin had secured him.

At the end of October 1796 Goethe had suddenly to go to Ilmenau, the water having broken out afresh in the mines on the night of October 24. He took with him his little August, who had lately been making a great friend of Charlotte von Stein. (She tells her Fritz that August is a very sensible (*besonnenes*) child, though there is something dreary about him.) At Ilmenau Goethe remained, notwithstanding wretched weather, until all needful measures were taken. During his stay he was again attracted to the mineral kingdom by the mineral cabinet of *Bergrath Voigt*,² but he wrote no poetry, although he had hoped some gain in the “great solitude” for *Hermann und Dorothea*.³

After his return he was detained in Weimar by various kinds of business, the most onerous being the affairs of the theatre, where the *Regie* ⁴ was now rearranged. The study of

¹ Goethe to Kirms, Jena, September 6, 1796.—Tr.

² The brother of the Minister, Christian Gottlob von Voigt. See vol. i. pp. 338, 388, 391, and 419.—Tr.

³ Goethe to Schiller, October 29, 1796 (before departure for Ilmenau); November 12, 1796 (very soon after return to Weimar). Goethe did not see Ilmenau again until August 1813.—Tr.

⁴ The function of the *Regisseur*.—Tr.

Natural Science continued its unceasing course. And the polishing and perfecting of the written cantos of *Hermann und Dorothea* still occupied him. All to whom he read this poem were moved and charmed, even Böttiger, in whose criticism he felt secure that emotion would not overrule judgment.¹

This success of his epic already among his friends was a keen pleasure to Goethe. Meanwhile the *Xenien* had roused against the two poets a swarm of enemies, many of whom did not hesitate to use coarse and unjustifiable means of attack. This moved Goethe to the Elegy called *Hermann und Dorothea*, announcing the appearance of the epic *Hermann und Dorothea*. The Elegy is a poem of dignified vindication of his own life and works, and in it he does not shrink from speaking of that domestic happiness which slanderers had tried to bemire. He sent it to Schiller on December 7, 1796; he would like the new year of the *Horen* to open with it. Schiller, however, dissuaded him from this, fearing that to publish it so soon would draw fresh personal attacks. It was Goethe's design, as he tells Schiller in the letter of the above date, to begin with this poem a new Book of Elegies; the second of the series should utter his longing to cross the Alps a third time, and thus he would continue either at home or on his journey. Schiller had now, to Goethe's delight, flung himself upon *Wallenstein*, and several scenes were already finished.

On December 28, 1796, Goethe started with the Duke for Leipzig to be present at the New-Year Fair. Schiller had just been roused to great anger by an attack of Reichardt's, who, referring to the *Xenien*, wrote in the periodical *Deutschland*, of which he was editor, to this effect:—"That it was sad to see such a great genius as Goethe so profane his greatness by descending to take part in deliberate calumny. On the other hand, the part which Herr Schiller might have in the matter

¹ Goethe to Jacobi, December 26, 1796 (*footnote*).—TR.

could trouble the editor of *Deutschland* very little, his contempt for Schiller's worthless and base conduct being quite unmixed, as Schiller's literary gifts and exertions were by no means to be classed with the genuine genius of that other." Goethe promised Schiller a "counter-manifesto."¹ The visit to Leipzig refreshed Goethe. "There were some very interesting persons amid the throng, old friends and acquaintances too I have seen again,² beside some noble works of art which have washed my eyes clear."³ From Leipzig they went to Dessau, where they stopped a week that the Duke might enjoy the hunting. Though the Prince of Dessau⁴ had been annoyed with Goethe on account of the attacks on Lavater in the *Xenien*, there was friendly intercourse. Goethe returned to Weimar on January 10, 1797, well content with his journey, which had been without literary fruit except that he had completely schemed the conclusion of *Hermann und Dorothea*.⁵

Soon after his return Goethe spent a day in Jena, the "manifesto" against Reichardt was discussed and all that was near to the hearts of the two poets. There was a cordial meeting with the two Humboldts also. After this the Theatre made extraordinary demands on his time and thought. He had the fortune to secure for it a perfectly endowed singer in Caroline Jagemann, who was then just completing her twentieth year. Her father was Librarian to the Duchess Amalia, through whose kindness she had been sent to Mannheim for training. Another important business matter concluded by

¹ Goethe to Schiller, Leipzig, January 1, 1797.—Tr.

² The old Oeser was still living; Goethe probably visited him, and probably, too, his old friend, Christian Gottfried Hermann (vol. i. p. 79); we know that he visited Christian Felix Weisse (vol. i. p. 89). Düntzer, *Goethe und Karl August*, ii. 205.—Tr.

³ Goethe to Schiller, Leipzig, January 1, 1797.—Tr.

⁴ See vol. i. p. 453.—Tr.

⁵ Goethe to Schiller, January 11, 1797.—Tr.

Goethe during the latter half of January 1797 was the sale of *Hermann und Dorothea* to the publisher Vieweg. Goethe gave a sealed cover to Böttiger, containing this declaration :—“For the epic poem *Hermann und Dorothea* I demand one thousand thalers in gold.” Böttiger was not to open this, was not to know the sum demanded, until some publisher should agree to the purchase whatever the sum might be. Vieweg at once accepted the condition. On January 22, 1797, Charlotte von Stein (who, though she and little August were good friends, had not yet forgiven August’s father) once more entered Goethe’s house ; she dined there with the Duke’s children, her own sister, and her sister’s children, and some others. Goethe had invited the Duchess Luise to come in the evening. The Court had grown friendly again.

On February 22, 1797, began a stay of more than five weeks in Jena, five weeks of the most earnest, most many-sided, most fruitful activity. By March 21, 1797, not only was the former portion of *Hermann und Dorothea* revised anew, but all the rest of it written except the concluding speech. Schiller, who watched the progress of this poem with intense interest, was himself busy on *Wallenstein*, and was reading in Shakespeare and Sophocles, and thus all the ideas about epic and dramatic poetry came to be eagerly discussed. One result was that Goethe planned a second epic poem of an altogether different character ; he chose for it a material that he had long ago thought of, only the suitable form had hitherto been lacking. He writes to Knebel on March 28, 1797 :—“Schiller is hard at work on *Wallenstein*, the elder Humboldt is at a translation of the *Agamemnon* of Æschylus, the elder Schlegel at one of the *Julius Cæsar* of Shakespeare, and thus—while I have [on account of *Hermann und Dorothea*] reason to meditate the nature of the Epic Poem—I am led [by sympathy with friends] to be attentive also to Tragedy,

whereby many remarkable relations come to be discussed. Besides, the presence of the younger Humboldt—sufficient in itself to fill a whole life with interest—brings into activity all [in me] that can only be of importance with regard to Chemistry or Physics or Physiology, so that I often find it very hard to return to my circle. If you only add that Fichte begins to publish in the *Philosophical Journal* a new exposition of his theory of the sciences, and that when I live amid a set of people of speculative tendencies I cannot avoid taking at least a general interest in this, you will easily perceive that it is often hard to tell where one's head is, particularly when rich suppers shorten the night and do not favour the moderation so needful for studies." Plastic art alone was absent from their discussions, though not absent from Goethe's thoughts; he often longed to be with Meyer in Italy, to find new life and refreshing in the contemplation of the many glorious forms.¹

On March 31, 1797, Goethe returned to Weimar, accompanied by the brothers von Humboldt. With both he had a great deal of intercourse; and with Wilhelm von Humboldt held a prosodic court of justice on the later cantos of *Hermann und Dorothea*.² On Easter Monday, April 17, 1797, the first four cantos went to the printer. Already he was attracted by a third perfectly different subject, the Journey of the Children of Israel in the Desert. He studied the Books of Moses to discriminate the original tradition of this journey from later additions.³ Writing on April 19, 1797, he tells Schiller that he is studying the Bible and Homer, and while so doing the most wonderful light has dawned on him as to the nature of epos. Thus he was again

¹ Goethe to Meyer, Jena, March 18, 1797.—TR.

² Goethe to Schiller, April 8, 1797.—TR.

³ Goethe to Schiller, April 12, April 15, 1797.—TR.

brought to consider his second epic poem,¹ and he sketched its plot. In the last week of April 1797 came news of the conclusion of peace, which calmed and cheered him, notwithstanding the heavy sacrifices that bought the peace. He felt very happy in his home affairs.² His little August was now being taught by a certain young Eissert under the superintendence of Professor Kästner.³ His only source of anxiety was news that Meyer was in bad health. He writes to Meyer on May 8, 1797, that he, Goethe, will probably go to Frankfurt in July, and will probably go thence to Italy. He therefore begs Meyer to stay where he is, but if he must return to Switzerland for the sake of his health let him write to Goethe where to meet him. On the 19th or 20th of May, 1797,⁴ Goethe hastened to Jena, hoping that there the poetic mood would return and enable him to complete his epic. The four weeks then spent in communion with Schiller are memorable in the history of German Literature. *Hermann und Dorothea* was perfected, and in the finest of all rivalries the two great poets produced a whole group of noble poems. The most important among these poems were ballads, and it was Goethe who first led Schiller to this kind of poetry.⁵

On June 16, 1797, Goethe returned to Weimar suddenly.

¹ This poem *Die Jagd* was never written. See Eckermann, January 15, 18, 29, 1827.—Tr.

² See the elegiac poem *Der neue Pausias und sein Blumenmädchen*, which was probably in hand by this time.—Tr.

³ Goethe to Fritz Stein, April 26, 1797.—Tr.

⁴ See Düntzer, *Goethe u. Karl August*, ii. 215 (*top* and *footnote*).—Tr.

⁵ During the four weeks May 19—June 16, 1797, Goethe completed *Der neue Pausias*, wrote the ballads *Der Schatzgräber* (May 21-23), *Die Braut von Korinth* (June 4-6), *Der Gott und die Bajadere* (June 7-9), the lyric *An Mignon* ("Ueber Thal und Fluss getragen"). See Goethe's letters to Schiller during this period, and *Goethe's Lyrische Gedichte; Erläutert von Heinrich Düntzer*, Band i. S. 242-245. Schiller's first ballad, *Der Taucher*, was begun June 5, finished June 14, 1797.—Tr.

He then spent a restless, unsatisfactory time. The Duke had written on June 13 begging that Goethe would await his return, which could not take place before the beginning of July. And Goethe had not made up his mind whether his own projected journey should be a long or short one. At length, on July 7, 1797, came a letter with the welcome news from Meyer that he had returned to his home in Switzerland. Goethe writes to Meyer on July 7 that it does not matter about that plan of theirs. "Care only for your health, and arrange what you have collected according to your own pleasure. . . . I am going immediately to Frankfurt *with my family to introduce them to my mother*, and after a short stay I will send them home and come to seek you on the shore of the beautiful lake."

Meanwhile Goethe, after "attacking many things and doing nothing,"¹ had made up his mind to grapple with the greatest of his unfinished labours, with *Faust*.² On July 1 he tells Schiller that he has advanced with good speed as to the scheme and general oversight of the poem. But his Roman friend, Aloys Hirt, who had been summoned to a professorship in Berlin, arrived in Weimar just then, and *Faust* was laid aside for a time; "the northern phantoms have been driven back by memories of the south."³ Hirt led Goethe's thoughts to architecture, and discussion of an essay of Hirt's on the *Laokoon* caused Goethe to put together his old thoughts on the group.⁴ By Goethe's urgent invitation Schiller came to Weimar (July 11-18), and the friends talked over all that was near to their hearts, and besides had a great deal of intercourse with Hirt and Böttiger.⁵

¹ Goethe to Schiller, June 21, 1797.—TR.

² Goethe to Schiller, June 22, 1797.—TR.

³ Goethe to Schiller, July 5, 1797.—TR.

⁴ On July 14, 1797, Goethe sends Meyer an essay on the *Laokoon*. And see vol. i. p. 157.—TR.

⁵ Goethe had it in mind at the time to write a ballad on *The Cranes*

At this time Goethe entertained the design of getting a more becoming theatre substituted for the miserable structure of wood at Lauchstedt. The first thing needful was the permission of the Elector of Saxony, in whose territory Lauchstedt was situated. The hopeless condition of his beloved actress, Christiane Becker, grieved him; she was now plainly in consumption; her acting must cease for ever. Schiller had been gone a week when the Duke at length, on July 25, 1797, arrived in Weimar.¹ Goethe had many things to discuss with him, the chief, perhaps, the building of the new castle. So it was not until the fifth day (July 30) from the Duke's arrival that he started with Christiane and August for his native city.²

When, after four days spent on the way, they arrived in Frankfurt, the Frau Rath greeted with a very joyous welcome her Wolf, her daughter-in-law, and her grandson. All Goethe's friends, older and younger, were very glad to see him. During his stay he paid remarkable attention to the theatre, to the inner circumstances of his mother city, and to the prevailing public feeling. Before leaving Frankfurt he renounced the journey to Italy; the political condition of that country just then was hateful to him.³

of Ibycus. So we have seen him dally with the subject *Hero and Leander*, and soon we shall find him struck with the legend of *William Tell*.—TR.

¹ Marianne Meyer came to Weimar about this time. Goethe in a letter to Schiller (July 26, 1797) regrets that she had not come a few days earlier:—"I should have liked you to know this singular being."—TR.

² For the history of the following journey see in Goethe's Works—*Aus einer Reise in die Schweiz . . . im Jahre 1797*. Before starting Goethe burnt the letters of the last twenty years (*Tag- und Jahres-Hefte*, 1797), only excepting those that came from his most intimate friends. Düntzer, *Goethe und Karl August*, ii. 221.—TR.

³ On August 10 he writes to Knebel:—"I have no desire towards Italy; I do not wish to observe the caterpillars and chrysalids of freedom; I had far rather see the French butterflies."—TR.

On August 25, 1797, he took leave of his mother, whom he never saw again. He travelled by Heidelberg, Heilbronn, and Ludwigsburg, and arrived in Stuttgart on August 29, 1797. He stayed there nine days, chiefly occupied with the theatre and with plastic art. With the young professor, Nikolaus von Thouret, Goethe thoroughly discussed the subject of ornament in relation to castles, having the new castle at Weimar in his mind. He sent to the Duke reports which enter minutely into detail, and evidence the most exact and many-sided observation. On August 31, 1797, he tells Schiller that he has thought of a new *genre* of poetry, *Conversations in Lyrics*.¹ On the 7th of September Goethe left Stuttgart and came to Tübingen, where he stayed until the 16th. On the evening of September 17 he arrived at Schaffhausen. The Rhine Falls were studied with great reverence and care.² To Schiller, from Stäfa on September 25, 1797, Goethe writes:—"I had almost forgotten to say that the line—'*es wallet und siedet, und brauset, und zischt*' [from Schiller's ballad *Der Taucher*] has at the Rhine Falls signally proved its rightness."³ On September 19, 1797, an ivy-entwined apple-tree on the way from Schaffhausen to Jestetten originated in Goethe's mind the elegy *Amyntas*. Goethe arrived in Zürich on the evening of September 19, and went to the inn by the lake which he had known so long; he visited no one in Zürich. In the afternoon

¹ During his journey Goethe composed three poems which are specimens of this *genre*: *Der Edelknabe und die Müllerin*, *Der Junggesell und der Mühlbach*, and *Der Müllerin Reue*.—TR.

² See Goethe's *Reise in die Schweiz*, September 18, 1797.—TR.

³ Schiller replies on October 6, 1797:—"It is no small delight that, according to your observation, my description of the whirlpool agrees with the phenomenon. I have never had the power of studying this manifestation of Nature except in the water near a mill, but I have studied Homer's description of Charybdis minutely, and this has perhaps kept me true to reality."—TR.

of September 20 Meyer came, and on the following day Goethe and Meyer sailed in bright pleasant weather up the lake to Stäfa, Meyer's home. Here Goethe spent some days examining his friend's collections, which gave occasion to the most searching talk upon the current rhetorical style of books of travel, and on the necessity of fixing some terminology for describing works of art. On September 28, 1797, Goethe set out in Meyer's company on a short tour through the mountains. The grand impression which the scenery of the Lake of the Four Forest Cantons had made in former years¹ was renewed. The Hospice on the Gotthard Pass was the turning-point of the excursion, which terminated with their return to Stäfa on October 8. It was a time of immense happiness, disturbed only by the sad news that Christiane Becker, of whom Goethe had been so proud and fond, had died on September 22, 1797. His grief was not the less deep because her death had been long expected. He afterwards wrought out a noble elegy in honour of her memory.

Meanwhile *Hermann und Dorothea* had been published, and had charmed all readers, as nothing of Goethe's had done since the appearance of *Werther* in 1774; for, like *Werther*, it was a perfect work of art.² And now Goethe had found a new epic material on this his third and last Swiss journey; the fine popular legend of Wilhelm Tell was eagerly studied and carefully considered during his stay in Stäfa after the excursion in the Lesser Cantons. At length the case arrived

¹ Goethe had seen Luzern Lake twice before, with Passavant in June 1775, and with the Duke in November 1779. See vol. i. pp. 290, 379 (footnote).—Tr.

² To explain the popularity of a poem we must not, however, look to its perfection as a work of art. The people, Goethe himself testifies, look always to matter not to form in literature. *Werther* was popular because of its subject rather than because of the treatment; *Iphigenie*, perfect also, was unpopular because of its subject.—Tr.

which contained Meyer's copy of the celebrated painting, the Aldobrandini Marriage. Thus all Meyer's treasures were safe gathered together, and on October 21, 1797, our remarkable pair of friends could set out on their journey to Weimar,¹ where, in alliance with Schiller, they would devote themselves to the pure service of true Art. In the old German city of Nürnberg they lingered nine days (November 6-15). At midday on November 20 they arrived in Jena, and spent a few hours with Schiller, who, to Goethe's joy, had made up his mind to spend the winter in Weimar, hoping profit for his *Wallenstein* in daily familiarity with the theatre. On the evening of the same day the house in the *Frauenplan* was the witness of a very loving and joyful welcome.

¹ On their return they stayed a few days (October 22-25) in Zürich. Goethe did not visit Lavater. On February 17, 1829, he tells Eckermann that he had last seen Lavater when in Zürich. Lavater had not recognised him, because he was in disguise. This was probably in September 1797. —TR.

CHAPTER II.

FROM THE THIRD SWISS JOURNEY TO THE DANGEROUS ILLNESS
OF 1801—A TIME OF GREAT LABOUR, IN UNION WITH
SCHILLER, FOR THE ELEVATION OF THE THEATRE AND OF
THE CONCEPTION OF ART IN GERMANY.

NOVEMBER 1797—JANUARY 1801.

FOR some time after his return from Switzerland Goethe found it impossible to labour steadily at anything. One cause of this was the after excitement of the journey, a second was that familiar cause—excess of business. The old enumeration will serve—there was the theatre (now really getting on well), the *Redoutes*, the building of the castle, and new improvements in the park. He was occupied with plans of all kinds, one being an epic poem on the Death of Achilles ; but none of them was carried out, and his only important systematic labour during this winter was the exposition of the Theory of Colour and of its history, in which he was encouraged by the earnest sympathy of Meyer and Schiller. For the birthday *Redoute* of the Duchess (Jan. 26) he arranged a masquerade on the apposite theme, Peace ; six young ladies and six children had to be suitably equipped and trained. Fräulein Wolfskeel, who represented Peace, spoke the noble expository stanzas written by Goethe.¹ Schiller had, on

¹ See Hempel's *Goethe*, xi. 299.—TR.

account of his health, to put off until March his coming to Weimar.

Towards the end of February 1798 Goethe received into his charge the library of Jena and the ducal collection of coins, *Geheimerath* Schnauss, their former keeper, having died in December 1797. Goethe now succeeded in having Thouret summoned to superintend the building of the castle. During his Swiss journey they had, to his annoyance, applied to a Leipzig architect. Meyer was working hard in setting forth their views on plastic art.¹

In the early part of March 1798 Goethe was kept in great anxiety for a time by a purchase of some property that he had had in mind since last year. The place was a freehold property (*Freigut*) at the friendly parochial village Oberrossla, on the right bank of the Ilm. It was about a league from Osmannstedt, where Wieland had taken up his abode in April 1797, in a manor property (*Rittergut*) that he had bought.² Goethe concluded his purchase on March 10, 1798; the price was 14,000 thalers, of which 6000 were to be paid down. He had not seen the property himself, and probably depended on the judgment of his faithful Seidel, who, as district-steward of finance (*Rentamtmann*), would know the circumstances minutely. When Goethe visited Oberrossla on March 11 he saw that he had made a pretty good purchase, though the price seemed too high considering the yield of the place hitherto. But what Goethe really wanted was a pleasant country residence for himself and his family. This incident was a fine opportunity for Weimar gossip. Some said, part of the money he has from his writings, part from his mother; others said, the price was too high, he has been compelled to this purchase because through his relation to Christiane his

¹ Goethe to Schiller, March 3, 1798.—Tr.

² See on this Goethe's letter to Schiller, June 21, 1797.—Tr.

social position is so unpleasant.¹ Precisely at this time, however, Goethe began to receive in Weimar, and though he felt how unseemly it was that his wife could not be the hostess in his house, he managed matters so that his guests were at their ease. On the evening of February 20, 1798, he had a party to meet the Swedish Secretary of Legation, von Brinkmann, who was known as a German poet. Von Brinkmann was seated with Frau von Wolzogen on one side, and on the other Amalia von Imhof, a lady gifted both as poet and artist.

Not until March 18 did Goethe find it possible to leave Weimar. He stayed three weeks in Jena. The first three acts of *Wallenstein* were read to him; he thought them excellent, in some passages "astonishing;" still to make the play fit for the limited German stage, a "cruel shears" must work upon it. Schröder as the hero would be, Goethe thought, the noblest possibility of a German theatre.² His own two epic plans³ were talked over with Schiller. And for the *Musen-almanach*, the *Weissagungen des Bakis*, intended to excite the curiosity of a riddle-loving world, were begun,⁴ while the elegy on Christiane Becker was considered. Goethe wished moreover to have a monument erected to her memory;⁵ to be paid for by voluntary contributions and by the proceeds of a representation at the theatre. As for the work on Art that Goethe and Meyer had planned, Schiller too thought of taking part in it. It should consist of detached treatises on Art issued in four small octavo volumes, and

¹ See Düntzer, *Goethe und Karl August*, ii. 243.—Tr.

² See all this about *Wallenstein* in Goethe's letter to Heinrich Meyer, Jena, March 23, 1798.—Tr.

³ A *Wilhelm Tell* and an *Achilleïs*.—Tr.

⁴ Riemer, *Mittheilungen über Goethe*, ii. 528.—Tr.

⁵ Goethe to Meyer, Jena, March 23, 1798.—Tr.

they would append a complete imprint of Goethe's translation of the *Life of Benvenuto Cellini*, with notes elucidating the history of politics and art in Italy in Cellini's time.

Goethe returned to Weimar on April 6, 1798. Beside the various familiar official toils and distractions, he had on hand the preparations for the coming of Iffland, who had promised to play in Weimar if his expenses were paid.¹ At this time Goethe took up his *Faust*, and found it possible to advance with it.² Meyer was to make outline sketches in Indian ink on grayish brown paper for this "barbarian composition,"³ (barbarian contrasted with his Greek epic material the *Achilleïs*), the outlines to be set off afterwards with the brush. Now, too, Goethe took out the *camera obscura* again and other apparatus for the study of colour.

Schiller's ailing condition prevented him from coming to Weimar during Iffland's eleven days' stay,⁴ and Charlotte Schiller saw only the performance of May 3. Iffland could not play *Egmont* because, to Goethe's annoyance, he had forgotten the words. During this delightful little dramatic season Goethe gave a series of *déjeuners* at his own expense, to which Iffland, with his ugly wife, and between twenty and thirty of the people of most consequence, were invited. Charlotte von Stein was at the first of the series, and all the royal personages of Weimar, the Hereditary Prince of Gotha and many ladies. Fräulein von Wolfskeel was asked to the *déjeuner* that fell on her birthday, the 1st of May.

¹ "I ask for no honorarium whatever. What I see and feel there is the noblest honorarium." Iffland's letter to Kirms, March 30, 1798. Düntzer, *Goethe und Karl August*, ii. 245.—TR.

² Goethe's letters to Charlotte Schiller, April 14, 18, 21, 1798. During Schiller's illness Charlotte wrote to Goethe, and received letters from him. Düntzer, *Goethe und Karl August*, ii. 246.—TR.

³ Goethe to Schiller, April 29, 1798.—TR.

⁴ April 24-May 4, 1798.—TR.

Goethe had hoped to get away to Jena soon after Iffland's performances had come to a close. But it was needful that he should await the coming of Thouret, who delayed longer than had been expected. In this time of suspense *Faust* was laid aside for the *Achilleïs*.¹ At length (May 20, 1798) Goethe hastens with August to Jena. Karl von Stein, and his bride, and three other couples, were to be married in Charlotte von Stein's house on that day, and Goethe wished to avoid being present. His August had a dear play-mate in Schiller's boy Karl, who was very proud of a gay little hunter costume. Goethe spent most of the evenings of this stay in Schiller's garden. After consultation with Schiller, he wrote for the bookseller Cotta an exact account of the purpose of the work which he and Meyer meant to bring out. It should consist of the speculations on Nature and Art, of friends whose minds were in harmony; (in "Nature" he was at the moment only thinking of the Theory of Light and Colour.)

Before the close of May 1798 the arrival of Thouret drew Goethe back to Weimar. But June 4 saw him again with Schiller for a stay of two weeks and a half. At first articles for the new work occupied him; then, as he had to provide for the *Musenalmanach*, he worked on lyric poetry. Between June 13 and June 17 he completed the Elegy on Christiane Becker (*Euphrosyne*), *Die Metamorphose der Pflanzen*, *Das Blümlein Wunderschön*, *Der Müllerin Verrath*, *Die Musageten*, *Deutscher Parnass*. And during this period he grew interested in experiments in magnetism. On June 21, 1798, he went to Oberrossla to take possession of his new property, and to induct the new tenant. He had meant to return to Jena, but was summoned unexpectedly by business

¹ Goethe to Knebel, May 5, 1798; Goethe to Schiller, May 12, 1798.—Tr.

to Weimar. Here, during the last week of June 1798 and the early part of July, and during another short stay in Jena (July 4-11), his projected epic *Wilhelm Tell* was closely thought over. Then he was fully occupied by the matter of rebuilding Weimar Theatre, and by the new work undertaken by Cotta. They had decided to give it the name *Die Propyläen*,¹ significant of its purpose. On July 25, 1798, Goethe's noble Introduction to *Die Propyläen* was sent to Cotta.

Meanwhile Goethe's interest in magnetism had not died. On July 14, 1798, the pieces of iron cast in Ilmenau by his directions have arrived in Weimar. The experiments for which he wanted them have turned out as he expected, and a few new phenomena of which he had not thought, very remarkable ones. He draws up a scheme of all effects due to polarity.² (The presence in Weimar of the Dutch physicist, von Marum, is a great help to him.) And he is successful in an endeavour to imitate wood engraving with copper.³ The pleasure of these successes was marred by the Duke's re-entering the Prussian service, a step by no means likely to benefit Weimar.

In the beginning of August 1798, Goethe being again in Jena, Schiller read to him the two powerful last Acts of *Wallenstein* so far as they were yet complete. But Goethe did not believe that these would be of use for the stage within any short time; and he planned to write "a kind of fore-piece and a prologue" for the opening of the new Weimar Theatre.⁴ Schiller had now to get the *Musen Almanach* ready, and only when, this labour over, he came to Weimar on

¹ See Schiller to Goethe, June 28, 1798.

² Goethe to Schiller, July 14, 1798.—Tr.

³ Goethe to Meyer, Jena, June 15, 1798. Goethe to Schiller, July 21, 1798.—Tr.

⁴ Goethe to Kirms, August 14, 1798.—Tr.

September 10, 1798, did Goethe succeed in moving him to give *Wallensteins Lager* for the needed fore-piece and to make of *Wallenstein* itself two distinct plays. And still it was with great difficulty that the fore-piece, and the prologue (also undertaken by Schiller) were obtained in time. The opening performance was fixed for October 12, 1798. Very toilsome for Goethe were the days preceding this. But he had a great reward. His new theatre and Schiller's fore-piece were universally praised. The admirably spoken prologue and the fresh life and movement of the *Lager* charmed all. Never probably before or since has one poet expended so much sympathy and enthusiasm in bringing on the stage the work of another. And now at any cost the first part of the Tragedy of *Wallenstein* must be ready for the next birthday of the Duchess, that Schiller's triumph might be full. From Schiller's dramatic labours Goethe expected the very highest result. For Schiller would continue to advance with all the endurance of his strong nature on the path which had proved such a happy one. Goethe himself had indeed a great part in this.

On October 14, 1798, the two poets went to Jena together. Thence Goethe sent to Cotta's *Allgemeine Zeitung* a notice of the late opening of the theatre,¹ designing to forestall Böttiger, who was very fond of communicating news in all directions. After about a week's stay Goethe left Jena, having to prepare for the first *Redoute* of the season, which was to take place on October 26 in the theatre. At the same time he began anew to work passionately on his Theory of Colour, and resolved not to desist until he was quite done with it.² Schiller's praise of the first number of *Die Propyläen* gave him keen pleasure. Through *Die Propyläen* Goethe hoped to

¹ See this reprinted, Hempel's *Goethe*, xxviii. 630.—TR.

² Goethe to Schiller, October 31, November 7, 1798.—TR.

work for ideal Plastic Art, as Schiller worked for the Drama. But the periodical would be also a real good to himself, for it would compel him to give expression to ideas and experiences that he had long borne about with him.¹ In the first week of November 1798 Goethe had to spend a few days in Oberrossla, during which he considered the whole Theory of Colour. On the 11th of November began a long visit to Jena, and the same subject occupied his thoughts. Of course Schiller and he talked a great deal about *Die Piccolomini*, to finish which was so pressingly needful. For *Die Propyläen* Goethe was preparing the important letters *Der Sammler und die Seinigen* in the novel form. On November 29, 1798, the Duke wrote to Goethe that Count Friess and Lerse (Goethe's honest Strassburg friend of old times) had come to Weimar; their visit was partly to the Court. Goethe returned to Weimar on the evening of the 29th.

Lerse, after having with Pfeffel conducted the Military School in Colmar, had in the Revolution times been for two years Commandant of the *Garde Nationale* there; but finding no satisfaction in this, turned to the labour of collecting the scattered Archives and Monastery Libraries of Colmar, and had shown therein remarkable patience, skill, and knowledge. After this Count Friess (the Viennese connoisseur and collector whom Goethe met in Rome) had chosen Lerse for his son's companion. Lerse in this capacity spent two years in Leipzig, and was now a man of wide learning in art and antiquities. In Numismatics especially he was well versed, witness his criticism of the works of Eckhel and Sestini. To meet again this dear friend, direct and honest as of old, and to call to mind with him the happy youthful days, must have been a rare joy to Goethe.

December was generally a bad month with Goethe, and

¹ Goethe to Schiller, October 31, 1798.—Tr.

in the December of 1798, his time was miserably wasted by "polypus-like"¹ tasks. On December 24 he had the pleasure of hearing from Schiller that a copy of *Die Piccolomini* had been sent to Iffland, and also that in the course of the week the transcript of the play for the Weimar Theatre would be properly finished. At Schiller's wish Goethe had ere this arranged that when he came to Weimar to look after the rehearsal of his play, he should have the rooms in the Castle lately occupied by Thouret. (Thouret, having quarrelled with Wolzogen, Schiller's brother-in-law, had left Weimar.) After all pressing, it was only on December 31 that the copy of *Die Piccolomini* at length arrived.

While the theatre was thus moving on to a higher development, an undertaking which during twelve years had lain close to Goethe's heart had come to an unhappy close. There had been a new outbreak of the water at Ilmenau; and all hope of profitable mining was at an end; it was just possible to keep the shafts and drifts open for thoroughfare. Goethe, whose regret was deep, did not revisit Ilmenau until fifteen years later.² It was in this year of misfortune, 1798, that his friend Knebel, whose marriage with a former *Kammersängerin* had rendered it impossible for him to live in Weimar, took up his abode in Ilmenau.

On New Year's Day, 1799, Goethe, wishing to keep the players in good humour on account of the great efforts before them, gave them a little breakfast. On January 4 came Schiller, in time to dine with Goethe. It was a January full of labour and enjoyment for the friends. Many social distractions enlivened the time. On January 16 there was a

¹ On July 27, 1799—it was a time of great worry—Goethe writes to Schiller:—"Business tasks are polypus-like; if you cut them into a hundred pieces each single piece becomes living again."—TR.

² August, 1813.—TR.

great dinner in honour of Schiller at Goethe's house. Herder, Voigt, Meyer, and Böttiger, and others, were present. Herder was somewhat milder at this time; he had received from *Die Propyläen* "a peculiar, pure and great attuning."¹ The reading-rehearsals of *Die Piccolomini* took place in Goethe's house. Schiller was too ill to attend the acting rehearsals. At length the representation on the Duchess's birthday came off, and with the greatest success; Goethe had a rich reward for the trial he endured in teaching the actors to speak the unaccustomed iambics. To Goethe's regret, the Duke's æsthetic judgment of the play (in a letter of January 31) was altogether from a French point of view: he was pleased only by "the exceedingly beautiful language," finding in the play numbers of mistakes in other respects. However, on February 1, he invited the author to come with Goethe to dinner, and he rewarded the two chief actors. The second representation (February 2, 1799) was even more successful than the first. Goethe was not at it, being too weary after the birthday *Redoute*. "It may be considered," he writes, "what, after a pause, can be done to urge the third representation further."²

On February 6, 1799, Goethe accompanied his friend to Jena and remained three weeks there, working on the Theory of Colour, and engaged in all sorts of business, the most important matter being the threatening ice-choke. As to Schiller's alterations in *Die Piccolomini*, and the third piece that was gradually forming, he showed the old cordial fruitful sympathy. At the end of February he returned to Weimar.

In the gloomy distracted winter days he was not happy.

¹ "Eine eigene reine und grosse Stimmung." Knebel's *Nachlass*, ii. 276. See also in this connection, Goethe to Knebel, March 22, 1799.—Düntzer, *Goethe und Karl August*, ii. 273, 275.—TR.

² Goethe to Schiller, February 3, 1799.—TR.

"It is very strange," he writes on March 6, 1799, to Schiller, "that my position, which, speaking generally, could not be more favourable, is very much in opposition to my nature." Schiller exhorted him to courage and cheerfulness, and Goethe turned again to the *Achilleïs*, which he hoped to finish by the end of September.¹ When he receives the concluding acts of *Wallensteins Tod*, sent to him on March 17, 1799, he congratulates his friend heartily; as for his own work, "extorted by violence from the Muses,"² he does not yet know whether it will be worth anything. He clings with ardour to the thought of working for the elevation of Plastic Art; thinks about prize tasks for painters and sculptors, in which the principles set forth in *Die Propyläen* shall find practical illustration. The Duke intimated that as the competing works were to appear in the Weimar Art Exhibition, he was prepared to pay the greater part of the thirty ducats to which the prizes would amount.

On March 21, 1799, Goethe, in order to gain freedom for the *Achilleïs*, went to Jena. Here he learned with pleasure that Schiller, in order to develop a new tragic material, would not for a time write any lyrical poetry, and instead of producing the *Musen Almanach* for the year, would edit a poem by his young friend Fräulein von Imhof, *Die Schwestern von Lesbos*.³ Goethe even relieved Schiller of the trouble of reading this poem through, and planned to write an introductory elegy to heighten its effect.⁴ The completion (April 2) of the first canto of the *Achilleïs* filled him with courage. But

¹ Goethe to Schiller, March 9, 1799.—Tr.

² "Den Musen abgetrotzte," Goethe to Schiller, [March 18, 1799].—Tr.

³ Goethe to Meyer, Jena, March 21, 1799. Schiller's new tragic material was *Die feindlichen Brüder*, afterwards *Die Braut von Messina*.—Tr.

⁴ Goethe to Meyer, Jena, March 27, 1799.—Tr.

alas ! when he made a short pause in order to assure himself exactly as to the "motives" next to be developed, his glow of inspiration chilled, the poem stood still.

During the winter 1798-9 an affair had been going on which, though altogether unconnected with poetry or the drama, interested Goethe and Schiller very much. In December 1798 the Elector of Saxony had written to the Duke of Weimar touching certain articles in a number of Fichte's *Philosophisches Journal* which savoured of atheism. The Elector begged that the authors and editors of these articles might be made responsible, and pointed out that otherwise it might be "Our" unpleasant duty to forbid the children of "Our" state to resort to Jena University and the *Gymnasien* of the Duchy Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach. Before Fichte knew that any such request had reached the Duke, he had printed a pamphlet defending himself conclusively against the charge of atheism. So far, of course, his action was perfectly justifiable. But many of his subsequent words and acts were rather those of a hot, indiscreet man than of one concerned chiefly about Truth and Liberty of Speculation. The Weimar Government was very anxious to befriend him, but he seemed unable to believe this, and at length threatened that if he were censured he would resign, and that some of his friends who thought as he did were resolved to follow him. This of course precipitated matters. Fichte *was* censured and his resignation was accepted March 1799.¹

On April 10, 1799, Goethe returned to Weimar, accompanied by Schiller ; on the two following days the rehearsals of the trilogy *Wallenstein* took place, and the three pieces were publicly represented, *Wallensteins Lager* on April 15, the *Piccolomini* on April 17, and *Wallensteins Tod* on April 20,

¹ Düntzer, *Goethe und Karl August*, Theil ii. 278-280, 285, 287, 290-293. Düntzer, *Aus Goethes Freundeskreise*, 396-408.—TR.

1799. Even the most insensible spectators were stirred to enthusiasm by *Wallensteins Tod*. Goethe's heart was full of joy in this the first decisive success of his dear friend and brother-poet, "who has opened new paths for author and actor by his ideal Drama."

We find him again in Jena from May 1 to May 27, 1799. He has a carriage of his own with him, in which he daily goes out driving with Schiller. Enabled by his friend's active sympathy, he completed by May 12 the group of letters entitled *Der Sammler und die Seinigen*, which were intended to gain for the *Propyläen* the interest of a wider public. Schiller had ere this begun printing a collection of his poems. Now Goethe, too, resolved to publish the lyrical poems of his later years as the seventh volume of his *Neue Schriften*; those written in elegiac form he meant to submit to sharp prosodic scrutiny. Schiller undertook to get the publisher Unger to introduce the matter and ask for the poems.

When Goethe returned to Weimar the pressure of business prevented him from doing steady connected work. Revising the poem of Amalia von Imhof according to the standard of a more searching criticism gave him a great deal of trouble. Meanwhile Meyer had finished his beautiful design for a monument to Christiane Becker; its execution was entrusted to the Gotha sculptor Döll. On June 8, 1799, Goethe went with his wife and child to Oberrossla. So urgently did his own affairs there claim him that he excused himself when the Duchess summoned him to Weimar to renew old acquaintance with the Prussian Minister von Haugwitz, the companion of the Stolbergs on the Swiss journey of 1775. Soon after, however, Goethe had to return. The Duke had invited the King of Prussia when visiting Erfurt to come to Weimar, which was by no means prepared for a royal visit, as the ducal family were themselves

living very economically. How unwelcome the prospect of this visit was may be read in Goethe's letters to Schiller. "External circumstance makes our existence and plunders our existence at the same time," he writes on June 19, 1799, "nevertheless it is a man's concern to see that, things being so, he yet comes through; for to isolate one's self entirely, as Wieland has done, is not to be counselled."

About this time, too, Goethe was again wearied by his eccentric fellow-townsmen Johann Isaak Gerning. Gerning, a son of the famous entomologist, was born in Frankfurt-am-Main in 1767. When in 1790 the King and Queen of Naples, on the occasion of the coronation at Frankfurt, had stopped at the house of Gerning's father, they had taken so great a liking for the young fellow, then twenty-three, that they invited him to Naples. When he went there in 1794 the Queen was said to have treated him like a son. Radiant in the distinction of this favour, he came in the autumn of 1794 to Weimar and Jena, thinking that his acquaintance with the Neapolitan royal pair, his being Goethe's fellow-townsmen, and his gift for poetry, would procure him the best treatment. He gained the *entrée* at the houses of the Duchess Amalia, of the Weimar celebrities, and of the good Knebel. Goethe was rather cold; he saw that the new-comer was designing, and really not worth much. Gerning attended lectures in Jena during the winter 1794-5. Afterwards he sent contributions of verse to *Musenalmans* and monthlies, Schiller and Wieland being among the editors thus made happy. When in the summer of 1797 he was about to visit Italy, he offered himself to Goethe as a travelling companion; Goethe could politely avoid this, being unable at the time to decide about his own journey. Gerning was now back again and had been paying Knebel a visit in Ilmenau. From Knebel he came to Goethe as to a brother-poet! To him

that remark refers in Goethe's letter to Schiller, June 22, 1799 :—" I have lately had a dilettante in poetry with me, who would have brought me to desperation had I not been in the mood to contemplate him as a contribution to Natural History, to gain once for all a right objective notion of the species." This dilettantism in poetry was precisely the evil that the two great allies were combating with all their powers.¹ A better reception than Goethe's was found by Gerning with Herder.

On June 30, 1799, Schiller came to Weimar to be present at the performance of *Wallensteins Tod*, which the King of Prussia had desired to hear when given his choice by the Duke. (Schiller was by this time at work on *Maria Stuart*.) After levée at Court on July 2 all went to the theatre. *Wallensteins Tod* had a great success. Schiller was summoned to the royal box, and the King praised the piece ; and the Queen talked for a long time with both Schiller and Herder. We do not hear that Goethe rejoiced in any special mark of favour. The Queen's disposition towards him was not friendly, nor was his external appearance at this time remarkably engaging ; he had grown much too stout. Yet the Queen loved and honoured Goethe's mother, with whom she had stayed in the coronation time in 1790,² and to whom four years later (1803) she gave a golden necklace. It was only in subsequent trouble-darkened days that the Queen felt the power of the tragedy and pathos of *Wilhelm Meister*.³ That the sun of royal favour shone not on him was a matter of small concern to Goethe ; did not his friend profit by its rays ? Schiller was now recognised as the first of German dramatists, and Goethe was happy.

¹ See, beside Goethe's and Schiller's letters at this time, the scheme in Goethe's *Works* of an Essay *Ueber den sogenannten Dilettantismus*.—TR.

² See Düntzer's *Frauenbilder aus Goethe's Jugendzeit*, 530-532.—TR.

³ See Carlyle's Essay on Goethe, and its quotation from *Kunst und Alterthum* for 1824.—TR.

But how discouraging just at this time was Cotta's announcement that he had sold hardly 450 copies of the *Propyläen*, being already at a loss of 2500 gulden by it! Goethe concealed this from Schiller in order not to trouble the pleasure of the days of his success. When Schiller on his return to Jena read in a letter of Cotta's how far from prosperous was the undertaking by which the friends had hoped to work some reformation, he was passionately stirred to think of the "unheard-of pitifulness"¹ of the public—much more than Goethe, who only felt a deep regret that noble seed had fallen on unreceptive soil. And though he strove for a time so to arrange that continuation might be possible,² the enthusiastic confidence of the beginning was gone.

And now he could not get away to Jena. The betrothal of the Hereditary Prince to a Russian princess having been planned, the Duke desired to get the Castle finished as soon as possible, and he believed Goethe's presence in Weimar to be necessary.³ The poet was low-spirited and disquieted to think how the precious time was passing without durable results. He writes moodily to Schiller on July 27, 1799:—"Our latest experiences have convinced me anew that men desire, not any kind of genuine theoretic insight, but phrases by which their mode of thinking and acting may acquire some seeming."⁴ In such a state of intellectual "debasement" he was able to meet with calm composure, nay, even with perfect friendliness, his old friend Mama Laroche, who with her

¹ Schiller to Goethe, July 5, 1799.—TR.

² Goethe to Schiller, July 10, 1799.—TR.

³ Goethe to Schiller, July 9, 1799.—TR.

⁴ He goes on as follows:—"A few friends who visited our collection, the presence of our old friend [Frau von Laroche], and, above all, the amateur theatre lately constituted, have given me terrible examples of that truth, and the walls which I have already drawn round my existence shall now be carried a couple of feet higher."—TR.

grandchildren (two daughters of poor little Max Brentano, who was now dead six years) had come (July 15) to visit Wieland in Osmannstedt. Goethe met Frau von Laroche first at Tiefurt, then when staying for a short time at Oberrossla went over to Osmannstedt to see her, and finally invited her and her granddaughters to dine at his house on July 26, 1799. The good old friend, who could now be nothing to Goethe, was as it were intoxicated by the delightfulness of this "sentimental dinner."¹ And reading her minute account of the entertainment, it must be acknowledged that the whole was admirably thought out with the design of lifting her to the third heaven of happiness. The company was sentimental; Wieland was there, and Charlotte von Stein, and Caroline von Wolzogen, and Amalia von Imhof. And at the end—while soft music came in from the garden through the beautiful shrubs—appeared an *Amorino*, no other than Goethe's nine-year-old August.² On the preceding day, July 25,³ Goethe had had the poets, Tieck, Hardenberg [Novalis], and A. W. Schlegel, to dinner. The "trippers and askers" who swarmed round the great poet in his later years reported him cold and haughty, but to genuine merit he was open and friendly as ever.

Goethe had hoped that he could at any rate get away to Jena on July 27 or 28. But he had to await the return of the Duke and Voigt, and his hope proved vain. In order to escape the bustle and noise of his house in the town, he takes

¹ Charlotte Schiller, ii. 337. Düntzer, *Goethe und Karl August*.—TR.

² Frau von Laroche's account is quoted at length in Düntzer's *Frauenbilder aus Goethe's Jugendzeit*, pp. 548-550.—TR.

³ Düntzer observes that the letter No. 633 in Goethe's and Schiller's published correspondence is misdated July 24, 1799. It should be July 25. Tieck directed Goethe's attention to Ben Jonson, urging him to read *Volpone*.—TR.

refuge at the end of July in his Garden,¹ where he lives solitary, having sent Christiane and August to Jena. August, like Wilhelm Meister's Felix, showed much readiness in writing, in languages, and in all objective acquirements (*zu allem was angeschaut werden muss*), and had moreover a good memory. Goethe desired only to develop what really lay in him, and to secure accuracy and thoroughness in what he did learn.²

In his garden solitude Goethe now spent six happy and industrious weeks. He wrote the *Erste Walpurgisnacht*, a ballad of a peculiar kind—dramatic in form, and intended to be set to music; laboured at collecting and revising his poems for that Seventh Volume which Unger was to publish; continued the revising of *Die Schwestern von Lesbos*, (it had ere this been determined to publish the poem in the *Musen-almanach*); studied Winckelmann's life and writings;³ and planned to write with Meyer's aid the history of Art during the eighteenth century.⁴ On August 21, 1799, he tells Schiller that, contrary to his custom, he has been staying up until midnight to await the moon, which he looks at through the Auch⁵ telescope. Meanwhile the building of the Castle went on briskly, and drew Goethe into the town several times. (He was not content with the plan.) He took a house in Weimar for Schiller, who meant to spend the winter there in order to be near the theatre. Meanwhile the number of

¹ The trees and shrubs sown twenty years before had now grown so much as almost to deprive the house of light and air. "Thus does it often happen," remarks Goethe, "our own wishes grow over our heads."
—TR.

² These details about August are from Goethe's letter to Knebel, September 17, 1799.—TR.

³ Goethe to Schiller, August 21, 1799.—TR.

⁴ Goethe to Knebel, September 17, 1799.—TR.

⁵ Auch was a Weimar mechanician. Düntzer, *Goethe und Karl August*.—TR.

drawings sent in to compete for the prizes offered in the spring was growing very large, and Goethe spent some time examining and discussing them with Meyer, beside arranging about exhibiting them.

The Duke's return did not, after all, release Goethe. About September 13, 1799, Schiller came to Weimar for a few days.¹ The friends criticised the drawings together. It was at this time that Schiller received the gift of silver plate which the Duchess had resolved on as a token of gratitude after the representation of *Wallenstein* in July 1799. Now came the Duke's reply to Schiller's petition for an increase of salary to enable him to live in Weimar during the winters. The Duke added two hundred thalers to the salary, and hoped that Schiller would in future, before finishing his plays, submit them to the Weimar lovers of the drama. Here Karl August is thinking especially of himself; he did not consider Goethe a sufficient counsel to Schiller. He had become very enthusiastic about the theatre; this may be largely ascribed to his passion for Caroline Jagemann, the remarkable *prima donna* and actress. His partiality for the French drama may be seen in his expressing to Goethe a wish to have Voltaire's *Mahomet* on the Weimar stage.

Schiller having returned on September 15, 1799, to Jena, Goethe followed him thither next day, intending to remain a fortnight. He went through his elegiacs and hexameters with A. W. Schlegel, and towards the end of September began at length to translate the *Mahomet*; and for the sake of this translation obtained leave of absence until the 13th of October. His intimacy with the two Schlegels, who visited him frequently, vexed many people, even Schiller was a little put out by it. Goethe visited no one² except Schiller and the old

¹ Schiller was returning with his family from Rudolstadt.—Tr.

² Dorothea Veit, (Dorothea Mendelssohn by birth, afterwards Dorothea Schlegel) was one of those disappointed by Goethe's secluding himself.

Ecclesiastical Privy Councillor, Griesbach, (a native of Butzbach, but brought up from babyhood in Frankfurt). In the night between the 11th and 12th of October 1799 a daughter was born to Schiller; Goethe was one of the sponsors.

According to his promise Goethe returned to Weimar on October 13. There the old throng of official duties pressed in upon him, and the collectedness needful for literary labour was totally unattainable. He had half resolved to go back to Jena in the beginning of November 1799, when he received a letter from Schiller bearing word that Charlotte Schiller was dangerously ill. Goethe felt that he could be no use to Schiller in Jena, and would himself but spend the time in disquiet.¹ In order to divert and compose his thoughts he went with his family to Niederrossla for a few days, where he was present at the dedication of a church. There he heard from Schiller that Charlotte was growing better, was out of danger. When the fever subsided, however, the state of the sufferer's mind caused deep anxiety. Meanwhile Goethe was occupied with the report on the allotment of the drawing-prizes, and with the announcement of a new competition. It was a great pleasure when, in the midst of his labours, his Roman friend, the painter Bury, arrived for a visit of considerable length.

It was dreadful, she thought, to be in Jena and yet not see Goethe. See this and other details of this stay, Düntzer, *Goethe und Karl August*, ii. 313-316.—TR.

¹ Goethe to Schiller, October 26, 1799. Goethe's brother-in-law, Johann Georg Schlosser, had died on October 17, 1799. Goethe tells Schiller of this on October 23. When the French were approaching Frankfurt Schlosser was outside the walls in his garden; he found the gate nearest his garden closed, hurried to the next gate, which was a good deal farther away, and, thus heated by exercise, heated himself further by entering a warm room. From this he was summoned to the Council, where he caught cold, then fever came, and he was carried off very fast. The reader will probably care for these details of one of the old intimate Frankfurt circle, now fast dwindling.—TR.

The Court of Weimar gave Bury a friendly reception. On November 6 Schiller, weary of watching in the house of sickness, sought refreshment and rest in a few hours' visit to Weimar; he left his Karl behind with August Goethe. On November 7, 1799, Professor Döll came with the monument to Christiane Becker. Goethe received it and had it temporarily deposited in the Castle Yard. The Duke promised to contribute to the cost of erecting it properly.

On November 9, 1799, Goethe went to stay some weeks in Jena; "If my presence can bring no positive help," he writes to Schiller on the 8th, "the diversion of the thoughts in an enduring sorrow is at any rate always something." He succeeded during his stay in finishing the translation of the *Mahomet*. But this was not the important event of the visit. In the earlier part of it, before the *Mahomet* was finished, Goethe read the first volume of the *Mémoires historiques de Stephanie Louise de Bourbon-Conti*, lent him by Schiller. On November 18, 1799,¹ he conceived from the perusal of this book the idea of a drama, *Eugenie*, afterwards called *Die Natürliche Tochter*. In this piece Goethe hoped to free himself of the mighty material of the French Revolution. He would show the monarchy, which the crimes of king and of noblesse had destroyed, restored on the firm basis, of reverence for the liberty of the people on the part of the ruler and his ministers, and of confidence in and harmonious co-operation with the Government on the part of the people. The project lay so near his heart that he kept it secret even from Schiller. And during this visit to Jena Goethe wrote his first sonnets; they were sharp ridicule of dilettantism in Art. He was led to the sonnet-form through his intimacy with A. W. Schlegel.² On December 2, 1799, Goethe is able

¹ Riemer's *Mittheilungen über Goethe*, ii. 557.—Tr.

² The sonnets which Goethe wrote in 1799 have been lost. The

to write to Gottlieb Hufeland:—"During the three weeks of my stay here I have at last put together the scheme of the whole Theory of Colour. You know from your own experience what a great gain that is." On December 3, 1799, Schiller, with his wife, now convalescent, went to Weimar, but Goethe stayed on in Jena, where on December 6 and 7¹ he framed the plan of the first two pieces of his trilogy *Eugenie*. He left for Weimar on December 8.

earliest preserved sonnet of Goethe's is that which closes Scene xix. of *Was wir bringen*, written June 1802. Next in order comes the Sonnet spoken by Eugenie in *Die Natürliche Tochter*, Act ii. Scene iv., written at the close of 1802. Next comes *Das Sonnett*, now the first poem in the division of Goethe's poems headed *Epigrammatisch*; this was probably written in 1806, it appeared in the *Morgenblatt* for January 5, 1807, and soon after in a volume of Goethe's poems which he had arranged for the printer before going to Karlsbad in 1806. Then in December 1807, at Jena, he begins writing, in competition with Riemer and Zacharias Werner, the group known as the *Sonnette*. (The two sonnet-translations in Goethe's translation of Benvenuto Cellini's Life (1796) are by A. W. Schlegel.) Düntzer, *Goethes lyrische Gedichte erläutert*, iii. 244-246.—TR.

¹ Riemer's *Mittheilungen*, ii. 557. During this time Goethe heard Tieck read his *Genoveva*, and was much interested by Malone's essay on the probable order of Shakespeare's plays, by a tragedy and a comedy of Ben Jonson's, and by two of the apocryphal Shakespeare plays. (Goethe to Schiller, December 6, 1799.) During this time, too, Dorothea Veit had her desire, and met Goethe. She was out walking on November 14, 1799, with the brothers Schlegel, Caroline Schlegel, Hardenberg [Novalis] and his brother, in a public walk called "Paradise." Goethe unexpectedly appeared, seemed not to wish to meet the large party, then they executed a skilful manœuvre, half the party retired, and the Schlegels went forward with Dorothea Veit, whom Wilhelm introduced as Moses Mendelssohn's daughter. She did not mean to talk at first, but, seeing that Goethe and Schlegel were not talking, thought: "Devil take shyness! If he is bored now I am irrecoverably lost." So she immediately began to ask him about the destructive floods in the Saale; he replied, and they got on pleasantly. Of all his works his presence made her think most of *Wilhelm Meister*. See Dorothea Schlegel's Letters recently edited by Dr. Raich.—TR.

When back in Weimar he used the remnants of time not devoured by business in giving his translation of Voltaire's *Mahomet* a final revision. During this winter, 1799-1800, a young student of medicine, Nikolaus Meyer of Bremen, who lodged near, spent a great deal of his time in Goethe's house. He was writing his Doctor's Dissertation, the subject—the Anatomy of the Mouse. He was welcome to the use of Goethe's anatomic collections. The investigations sometimes took place on the kitchen-hearth, to Christiane's horror! Meyer was also the good friend of Christiane and August; with Christiane he often went to dancing assemblies, a fact which was greedily pounced on by scandal. Schiller had taken up his abode in his new dwelling earlier than his wife, who stayed with Charlotte von Stein until December 16; he spent many of his evenings with Goethe. On December 17, 1799, Goethe at length could read *Mahomet* to Schiller, the Duke, and the Duchess. The Duke took a remarkable interest in the representation of this play, and discussed it thoroughly with Goethe. On December 18 Goethe invites Schiller's wife to his house for the first time. On December 23 a large evening party, (one of his guests being Herder), assembled at his house to hear *Mahomet* read. On December 27 Schiller and Goethe dined with the Duke. We find Goethe taking a warm interest in the three first acts of *Maria Stuart*, and, though in the closing days of 1799 not very well, spending New Year's Eve in the most cordial intercourse with Schiller.

During the last year of the eighteenth century¹ the two great poets continued their labours towards the ennoblement of the German stage. Schiller not only trained the actors in his own plays, but would take Goethe's place in the rehearsals of the plays of others, sometimes, in cases of sheer necessity,

¹ Note how Schiller in the first letter of 1800 makes the mistake that Heine made, calling 1800 the "new century." —TR.

in the rehearsals of operas, though he knew nothing of music. They found it impossible to exclude Kotzebue, who had come to Weimar in 1799. He stood in high favour with the Duchess Amalia, and required no payment for his plays. The first theatric task of the year was the preparation of the *Mahomet*. It demanded special care, as it was admired so much by the Duke, and was to be given on the Duchess's birthday (January 30, 1800). Schiller undertook to write a prologue, stating that the classic French Drama was here produced on the German stage not as a model for imitation, but as an example of a distinctly characterised national Form of Art. And the two friends agreed (January 6) that Shakespeare's *Macbeth* should be prepared by Schiller, and Goethe's *Iphigenie* by Goethe, for stage representation. The barometer was low, and in this kind of weather Schiller could work, while Goethe felt well only when the barometer was high. Accordingly two acts of *Macbeth* were ready by January 20, 1800, while Goethe on that day despaired of adapting *Iphigenie*. The performance of *Mahomet* on January 30, 1800, excited Goethe's enemies to extravagant abuse. However, before the performance Goethe had written:—"To me it is indifferent, whether the piece pleases, and whatever may result from its representation. I regard it as an experiment in which author, actor, and public may learn many a good lesson."¹ The Duke had the piece repeated, and endeavoured to improve the future representations by his criticism.

Just after the middle of February 1800 Schiller had a severe illness. We find him six weeks later, on March 24, 1800, still suffering from its consequences. Goethe and Meyer visited him constantly, and showed their true and anxious sympathy. We know little of Goethe's activity during the time. On February 26 he sends the *Römische Elegien* to

¹ Goethe to Knebel, January 30, 1800.—Tr.

A. W. Schlegel to receive his final corrections.¹ On March 5 we find him thanking Schlegel for these corrections, the greater number of which have been adopted, and enclosing the Second Book of *Elegien*; the *Epigramme* shall follow, (they did on March 20); "my present condition is as unpoetic as it is uncritical," and such aid is therefore very valuable. All desire to continue *Eugenie* flagged.² At this time Bury finished painting a half-length portrait of Goethe, a little more than life size. Though somewhat idealised it was a very good likeness, and gained general praise. After this Bury began to paint Goethe seated, with the attributes of the stage. At length, on April 10, 1800, Goethe was able to despatch to Unger the final poems of his Seventh Volume,³ in the arrangement of which Schiller's sympathy had been a valuable aid.

On April 28, 1800, Goethe followed the Duke to Leipzig Fair. He had found that he must seek some refreshing influence. In Leipzig he met the celebrated metrist Hermann,⁴ and had a long talk with him; on suggesting that he should write on German metre, Hermann replied that Goethe must first create German metre. Another whom he met in Leipzig was Cotta, to whom he promised text to match the caricatures of women in the *Pocket-book for Ladies*. Goethe had his Christiane and August to Leipzig also, that they might enjoy the bustle and life of the Fair,

¹ He had spoken of sending the *Römische Elegien* to Schlegel, Jan. 1, 1800, but seems to have delayed, hoping to see Schlegel.—TR.

² See Goethe's reference at the end of a letter to A. W. Schlegel, dated April 2, 1800, to "a work that I have begun," which Professor Düntzer (*Goethe und Karl August*, ii. 332) believes to refer to *Eugenie*.—TR.

³ The treasures of this wonderful volume of lyric poetry are reckoned by Düntzer, *Goethes lyrische Gedichte erläutert*, i. 270-274.—TR.

⁴ Johann Gottfried Jakob Hermann. The name of Goethe's friend of old times was Christian Gottfried Hermann. Oeser had died before this visit to Leipzig. Goethe probably visited Friederike Oeser.—TR.

that "world in a nut."¹ They left Weimar on May 9. With them Goethe returned on May 16, 1800. Schiller was away in Ettersburg finishing *Maria Stuart*; having brought his adaptation of *Macbeth* on the stage with success, he had started the day before Goethe's return. On June 9, 1800, Schiller came back to Weimar with *Maria Stuart* finished; its rehearsals began at once. The performance on June 14 was a new triumph for Schiller. He had carried through what the Duke viewed with grave doubt, and Goethe too—he had the Holy Communion represented on the stage. In this summer died suddenly the good true Lese, to whom had come in his very last days a cordial greeting from his friend of the old Strassburg time.

For a long time Goethe felt out of tune, hardly got his contribution to Cotta's *Pocket-book* done;² he turned to *Faust*, but could not advance aright, while Schiller had already taken firm grasp of a new subject.³ At length he could bear it no more, and on July 22, 1800, suddenly made up his mind to fly to his abode in the Castle at Jena. There he had indeed some business, but not so much as to prevent literary work. On arrival he began immediately translating the last three acts of Voltaire's *Tancrède*. Of this he had already spoken to Schiller, but he now planned to make a freer adaptation, and to add a Chorus. On August 1 he "unties a small knot" in *Faust*—he discovers how to introduce *Helena*; he could do a great deal if only he had a fortnight longer in Jena, "but unfortunately I imagine myself to be needed in Weimar, and to this imagination I sacrifice my most vivid desire."⁴

¹ Goethe to Schiller [end of April 1800].—TR.

² *Die guten Weiber*—*The good Women*—to counterbalance the caricatures of women.—TR.

³ *Die Jungfrau von Orleans*.—TR.

⁴ Goethe to Schiller, Jena, August 1, 1800.—TR.

He returned on August 4, 1800, and was engaged by the building of the Castle and the drawings competing for the prize, as they gradually accumulated; but literary work was almost impossible. So on September 3, the anniversary, so important in Goethe's life, of the Duke's birthday, he hastened back to Jena, and there succeeded in beginning *Helena*. He was visited on September 21 by Schiller and Meyer, and the allotment of the prizes was decided, and the new prize theme fixed on. Goethe read aloud the beginning of *Helena*: Schiller felt that in it breathed the lofty spirit of ancient tragedy. But Goethe was now withheld from poetry for a while by having to draw up a critical report on the drawings, by conversations on higher physics with Ritter, by conversations on philosophy with Niethammer and Friedrich Schlegel.¹ It was his way to derive from intercourse with men of eminence in any kind that which profited his own being, as from the books of great philosophers he culled the thoughts harmonising with his own. This enjoyable stay came to an end with his return to Weimar on October 4, 1800.

Goethe was now attracted by the circle of the Duchess Amalia. A comedy by Gotter, *Die stolze Vasthi*, was played in masks in the Duchess's private theatre. Goethe wrote an epilogue, an address to the Duchess.² In the epilogue he refers to "something new" which she may hear in a few days. This was his *Paläophron und Neoterpe*, a masque in which the change of century is celebrated. It was composed very rapidly, dictated to Henriette von Wolfskeel, and then rehearsed as rapidly under Goethe's guidance. When performed,³ there was no voice but praise of the author and the

¹ Goethe to Schiller, September 30, 1800.—Tr.

² Hempel's *Goethe*, xi. 232.—Tr.

³ On the Duchess Amalia's birthday, October 24, 1800. See Düntzer, *Schiller und Goethe*, ii. 205, and the footnote.—Tr.

actors. Goethe turned ardently to the Theatre then, he resolved to publish in union with Schiller a prize theme for dramatic pieces, and to celebrate the passage from the old to the new century by a series of festal performances. The last number of the *Propyläen* (iii. 2) was now printed without indication of the resolve to publish no more.

About the middle of November 1800 Goethe again sought in Jena the rest and collectedness needful for literary work. Again men of science and philosophers claimed him, and "poor Poesy"¹ had not her perfect rights. One of the philosophers was Schelling, who had returned to Jena for the winter. Goethe was drawn back to Weimar for a short time,² by the building of the Castle and by the Theatre. When in Jena again he at first began on *Faust*. But word came from Iffland that he would play Goethe's translation of *Tancredè* on the next Coronation Day, the 18th of January 1801. Goethe wrote to Iffland on December 16, 1800, promising to do his utmost. The piece would serve also for the birthday of the Duchess Luise, January 30, 1801. Unfortunately he had to give up the plan of a free translation and of introducing a Chorus. In order to finish his work in time he stayed on in Jena, alone in his room; only on one fine day did he go out walking. And he succeeded; on December 25, 1800, he sent the last two acts to Iffland, proposing at the same time lyric episodes for the piece. The old damp Castle was not a good December residence, and Goethe had caught a violent cold, which by the advice of a young doctor, a friend of his, he repelled with Peruvian balsam with opium and myrrhs.³ Meanwhile the Duke, to the annoyance of Goethe and Schiller,

¹ Goethe to Schiller, November 18, 1800.—TR.

² From about November 24 to December 12, 1800. Düntzer, *Goethe und Karl August*, ii. 349.—TR.

³ See the *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte*, 1801. The doctor was certainly a young Harbauer. Düntzer, *Goethe und Karl August*, ii. 352.—TR.

had declared against their plan of celebrating the new century ; he was particularly displeased that the Direction of the Theatre had not been treated with. Schiller instantly gave up all dealing in the matter.¹

On December 26 Goethe returned to Weimar, bringing Schelling with him to spend the Christmas holidays in his house. They opened their minds freely to each other on nature and art. On the last day of the eighteenth century there was a *Redoute*, for which Goethe had arranged a pageant. After midnight Goethe, with Schiller, Schelling, and his enthusiastic admirer the nature philosopher Steffens,² withdrew to a side-room, where a little later they were joined by Chr. W. Hufeland, and there they celebrated the close of the century in flowing champagne. Steffens gives an interesting account of the party :—"Goethe was unrestrained in his mirth even to excess, while Schiller grew more and more serious and delivered himself in ample doctrinaire æsthetic expositions . . . and did not let it put him out when Goethe by some brilliant objection tried to confuse him in his discourse. Schelling steadily maintained his calm bearing ; I could hardly observe any change in him. The physician Hufeland was on the eve of departure to an appointment in Berlin. He joined us somewhat later, and beloved as the excellent man was, the general dislike of Prussia was pretty freely expressed, and he very good-naturedly put up with the jokes of which he was the object."

¹ See the undated letter No. 779, in the third edition of the *Briefwechsel zwischen Goethe und Schiller* (No. 780 in the second edition).—TR.

² The Norwegian Heinrich Steffens, in his autobiography *Was ich erlebte*, tells us that in 1798 he spent a few days in Weimar as Goethe's guest. He met Goethe first in Jena at the house of the bookseller Frommann, then at Loder's. But Steffens's account is not quite correct. See Düntzer, *Goethe und Karl August*, ii. 273.—TR.

On January 1, 1801, the century was worthily begun with the performance of Haydn's *Creation*, and of Goethe's *Iphigenie* to Gluck's music. It was on the following day that Lavater, that faithful champion of justice and order, was after long suffering set free by death.¹ On the same day Goethe was prostrated by violent illness, stated by Herder's wife to be a cold brought on by his presence at the theatre on the previous evening, and by Goethe himself² considered the result of that ill-judged treatment of the cold caught in the Castle at Jena. Erysipelas with fever and a convulsive cough were now added; on January 5 it had become necessary to keep him in an erect posture, breathing being impossible in a recumbent one, a repetition of the experience of thirty years ago in Frankfurt. His left eye was endangered by a tumour that formed on his whole head and neck, and the physician feared for his brain. Christiane related that in his ravings the old Pagan broke forth into the most moving, heart-piercing, genuinely passionate appeals to the Saviour.³ During five days he was without personal consciousness. "Charlotte Schiller⁴ and I have shed many tears over him during the last few days," writes Charlotte von Stein on January 12 to Fritz. All Weimar was subdued to anxious sadness; now at last it was perceived how much all owed to the self-sacrifice of the sufferer. But on January 13 recovery had begun; he was able to send word that he was in a good way. In convalescence he was very low-spirited, weeping especially at

¹ In September 1799 Lavater, heroically endeavouring to save the people of Zürich from the excesses of Massena's soldiery, had received a gunshot wound which, though not immediately fatal, caused him great suffering and ultimately death.—TR.

² *Tag- und-Jahres Hefte*, 1801.—TR.

³ Riemer's *Mittheilungen über Goethe*, i. 121. Christiane used to repeat this whenever that epoch of Goethe's life came to be talked of.—TR.

⁴ "Die Schillerin."—TR.

sight of August. He was penetrated with the thought of the desolateness of his unwedded Christiane and her child had he died; he felt that until now he had never known what a deep disinterested love for him they cherished. On January 15 he sent to thank Charlotte von Stein for her sympathy, and to say that he hoped soon to go out of doors. On January 19 he was able to thank the Duke by letter, who then came to see him. Not to remain unemployed, he turned to translating the little book of Theophrastus on Colours.¹ His friends Schiller, Heinrich Meyer, Voigt, Einsiedel, and Loder,² did their best to make the time of recovery pass pleasantly. It was not long ere he felt the need of music.³ On January 22, 1801, there was a little concert at his house, in which probably Caroline Jagemann and her younger sister sang as they did in one in April. On January 24 Goethe's left eye at length opened. And now he had the pleasure of receiving the Duchess Amalia with Fräulein von Göchhausen and Fräulein von Wolfskeel. The Duchess Luise was at the time unwell. When, on January 26, Charlotte von Stein and Schiller's wife visited him he begged anew for their friendship as though he had just returned to the world. Schiller meanwhile superintended the rehearsals of the adaptation of *Tancredè*, though on January 29 Goethe was able to go over the part of Amenaïde with Fräulein Casper. On the evening of January 29, after the last rehearsal, Schiller supped with him, and on the following evening was able to tell his friend of the success of the performance.

¹ *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte*, 1801. The translation (finished at Pyrmont), is incorporated in the *Geschichte der Farbenlehre*. See Hempel's *Goethe*, xxxvi. 25-44.—TR.

² Add Herder from the *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte*. But see Düntzer, *Schiller und Goethe*, S. 217.—TR.

³ "The first higher need that I felt after my illness was that of music." Goethe to Reichardt, February 5, 1801.—TR.

CHAPTER III.

FROM GOETHE'S DANGEROUS ILLNESS OF 1801 TO THE DEATH
OF SCHILLER.

FEBRUARY 1801—MAY 1805.

IT was with no common pleasure that Goethe, while recovering, received the hearty congratulations of *Capellmeister* Reichardt, whom the *Xenien* had hit very hard. He replied on February 5, 1801, in a letter in which thrills deep pleasure at the friendliness called into manifestation by his illness. After mention of the kindness of friends, and a few particulars of his illness, he goes on:—"It is told of Haller that one day having fallen down a stair and on his head, he immediately on rising repeated in their order the names of the Chinese Emperors, wishing to try whether his memory had suffered. Let it not be taken amiss in me if I institute similar tests. I, too, had time and opportunity during the last fortnight to make present to my consciousness many of the threads which unite me to life, to business, to science and art. Not one, it seems, is snapt asunder; Combination proceeds as of old, and Production, too, seems to lurk in a corner, soon perhaps to delight me by her effects."

Very deeply was Goethe impressed with the general advantage of his position in Weimar, notwithstanding its occasional oppressive circumstance. He did not hide from himself that

his union with Christiane had, in some measure, set him at odds with society ; as little that with her—however dear she was—he could not know the happiness born of community of soul, that her influence on August could not be the ripening and elevating influence exercised by an intellectual mother on her son ; but love and integrity and manliness forbade that the least thought of dissolving their union should cross his mind. On the contrary, he felt a strong impulsion to do all that could improve her position, even to seize opportunity and make his peace with offended morality by a legal marriage. In a letter of February 1, 1801, to his mother, he says :—“How good and careful and loving my dear little one has shown herself you will imagine ; I cannot praise her unwearied activity enough. August also has been very good, and the two on my re-entry into life give me much joy.”¹ The duty of procuring for August legal recognition as his son, and of gaining the boy’s confidence and friendship by companionship in excursions, was felt by Goethe.

By February 7, 1801, the productive impatience had begun, on that day he turned again to *Faust*. On February 11 Goethe sent his carriage for Schiller, and had the rare pleasure of hearing him read the first three acts of *Die Jungfrau von Orleans*. He was soon again concerned in the affairs of the Theatre and the building of the Castle. He went over the part of Amenaïde with Caroline Jagemann in his own room ; and on February 20 conducted in person the rehearsal of *Tancrède* at the theatre. The affairs of the stage were indeed soon to be a cause of great annoyance. First, in the beginning of March 1801, there was a quarrel between Fraülein Jagemann and *Capellmeister* Kranz about the music

¹ Robert Keil, *Frau Rath*, S. 341-2. (In this letter Goethe mentions that his illness had been long coming on ; he ought to have gone to a watering-place in the summer of 1800.)—TR.

of *Don Giovanni*, which ended in the dismissal of Kranz ; a little later there was a quarrel between Fraülein Jagemann and Frau Vohs, one of whose side results was to compel Goethe to maintain against the Duchess Luise the authority of the Direction of the Theatre ; indeed Charlotte Schiller, who with some other ladies was furious on the Duchess's side, almost managed to bring Goethe and Schiller into conflict. This was avoided by Goethe's self-command, remarkable as exercised in spite of an irritability that clung to him after his illness, for which neither the Duchess nor Charlotte Schiller made any allowance in their acts.

On March 25, 1801, Goethe went with Christiane and August to Oberrossla, intending but a week's stay, though it grew longer. He had an unpleasant enough matter to settle—the eviction of a thriftless, non-paying tenant. Yet the days spent in the open air, the dealing with the common things of country life, made the time in this pleasant spring residence enjoyable. Plenty of visits relieved the quiet of the place. And work at *Faust* proceeded. Only in response to the repeated wish of the Duke, who had a good deal to talk over with him, did he return after a three weeks' stay.¹ On April 15 it happened that Schiller finished *Die Jungfrau von Orleans* ; he came to see Goethe in the evening, and soon after sent him the manuscript of the play. Goethe returned the manuscript on April 20 with warm praise. He now ventured to go out in Christiane's company, and at a dinner which he gave to the *Hofmarschallin* Countess Egloffstein, and the Duchess's Maids of Honour, Christiane received the guests.² Goethe stayed only ten days in Weimar, then hurried back to Oberrossla, and at length got rid of the old tenant, but as two months would elapse ere the coming of the new tenant there

¹ On April 15, 1801.—TR.

² See Düntzer's *Charlotte von Stein*, ii. 139.—TR.

were many things to be looked after. He found the temptation to lay down a walk during this delay too strong to resist; hitherto no dry footing in wet weather, no shade in sunny weather, had been available; and the enterprise called forth in him the old Park love of trifling in winding paths, in tiny sociable nooks, and led him further than he had intended, so delaying a little his return to Weimar.¹ During this absence Goethe was annoyed to hear how the Duke, out of consideration for his mistress, Caroline Jagemann, prevented Schiller's *Jungfrau von Orleans* from being acted on the Weimar stage.²

Goethe returned to Weimar probably about the close of the first week of May 1801. A good deal of his time was now taken up in arranging about the building of the Castle with Professor Gentz from Berlin, and in looking after the new improvements in the Park of Weimar. And he procured the legitimation of August, in whose companionship, being urged by his friends and by his physician, he started on June 5, 1801, for the Pyrmont Baths.³ August's companionship brought the same kind of delight as Fritz Stein's and August Herder's on former occasions; and he observed with joy how the boy himself was profiting. In Göttingen Goethe derived great pleasure from the sympathy of the students, who assembled in front of the inn and cheered him; and a deputation came asking permission to visit him in Weimar at Michaelmas. He spent several days full of instruction and interest in Göttingen, and on June 12 left for Pyrmont. There he was rendered unfit for work by the strong action of

¹ Goethe to Schiller, April 28, 1801; *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte*, 1801.—Tr.

² "Der Herzog fürchtete wohl besonders die Spottreden welche man auf diese *Jungfrau* machen werde die mit ihm in so vertraulichem Verhältnisse lebte."—Düntzer, *Goethe und Karl August*, ii. 367-9.—Tr.

³ Of the trip that follows Goethe gives a more than ordinarily full account in the *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte* for 1801.—Tr.

the Pyrmont cure; he even found it hard to work on the Theory of Colour. On July 9 Karl August arrived, ailing exceedingly; his feverish excitement rendered intercourse with him difficult. Thus Goethe looked forward with pleasure to departure from Pyrmont, which took place on July 17, 1801, and the happiness of the four weeks that he spent in Göttingen was heightened by contrast. The whole *Corpus Academicum* streamed in upon him. His main object—collection of details for the History of the Theory of Colour—was fully attained, and his old love for osteology and botany found nourishment, while August became an enthusiastic student of mineralogy.¹ Goethe and August left Göttingen on August 14, 1801. At Cassel Christiane and Heinrich Meyer joined them, and on August 21 all left Cassel together; but Goethe alone arrived in Gotha. There he spent some days of friendly intercourse in a strictly private circle in the charming summer residence of Prince August; nor was the celebration of his birthday forgotten.

Cured in mind and body, he returned to Weimar on August 30, 1801. He found there the architect Rabe, who had undertaken to conduct the building of the Castle. Now that two men like Gentz and Rabe co-operated in this difficult work, Goethe felt at length some ease of mind on a subject which had long been a trouble to him. The building proceeded, under the guidance of Rabe, according to a design once for all fixed on as best adapted to the needful ends. The pieces competing for the Art Prize were hung in two rooms at the theatre, and, with some pieces by old masters, made a very interesting Exhibition; it was on this occasion

¹ Goethe tells in the *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte* how in Göttingen they were annoyed by the barking of a crowd of dogs at night. Everything missile was laid hold on, and many an ammonite that August had brought with toil from the Hainberg flew from their windows.—TR.

possible to raise the prices and yet secure a large recourse of visitors. A series of representations by the famed actress Madame Unzelmann having been arranged to begin on September 21, 1801, Goethe was very busy for a while with the preparations for them, and for Madame Unzelmann's receptions in society during her stay; and the personal presence of the actress laid no less a claim upon his time. This visit had the best formative influence on the Weimar audience and the Weimar actors.

On October 8, 1801, Goethe's friend old *Hofrath* Büttner died in Jena, and his library now became the property of the University.¹ The task of putting in order this library and the papers of Büttner fell to Goethe, whom we find going to Jena on the matter on October 18,² the celebration of the Duchess Amalia's birthday on October 24 drawing him back to Weimar only for a short time. In the cheerful spirits of this interval in Weimar he arranged for the assembly of an evening circle at his house every second Wednesday, in which thirteen persons beside himself should take part, seven ladies and six men. The standing members of the society were the Countess von Egloffstein, (who was Goethe's partner), Schiller and Lotte, Schiller's brother-in-law von Wolzogen and his wife, Amalia von Imhof, the Maids of Honour Fräulein von Göchhausen and Fräulein von Wolfskeel, Voigt, Meyer, and Captain von Egloffstein. When Goethe was in Jena he saw a good deal of his young nephew Schlosser,³ a student there. "My brother-in-law's son seems a worthy son of his father [now two years dead]; it appears to me that he has a good direct

¹ See vol. i. page 423.—Tr.

² Goethe's first visit to Jena in 1801.—Tr.

³ This lad was not Goethe's nephew, properly speaking. He was the son of J. G. Schlosser, by his second wife Johanna Fahlmer. His name was Eduard. He died in 1807.—Tr.

character, and takes pleasure in actual experience."¹ Besides this young Schlosser, his two cousins, the sons of Hieronymus Schlosser,² were studying in Jena. "The youngest son of the Sheriff Schlosser is a little *enragé* for the newest philosophy, and that with so much intellect, heart, and character (*Geist Herz und Sinn*), that Schelling and I are struck with wonder." Two sons of Voss completed "one of the strangest young groups that I have ever known." One of the Vosses seemed to Goethe somewhat overstrained (*überspannt*), the other somewhat obscure (*dunkel*). Goethe returned to Weimar finally on November 10, Schiller's birthday. On the following evening the first of the meetings of their circle or *Kränzchen* took place;³ Goethe had composed for it the burlesque *Stiftungslied*, in which the popular manner is admirably caught. The Duke, the Princes, and the Princess were invited; but their presence did not chill the meeting: all went merrily. The measles prevalent in Weimar prevented the second meeting from being held on the appointed day. On November 28, 1801, Lessing's *Nathan*, as fitted for the stage by Schiller, was presented, and made a deep and splendid impression. Since it was Goethe's desire to cultivate audience and actors by habituating them to all art forms, he now ventured on the *Ion* of A. W. Schlegel, a drama in the antique style. On December 1 Schiller's household was attacked by the measles; and not until December 14 can Schiller propose a walk to Goethe. The rehearsals of *Ion* were superintended with great care by

¹ Goethe to Jacobi, November 23, 1801. From the same letter are derived the two quotations following.—TR.

² Vol. i. page 162. The names of these two sons were—the elder Fritz, the younger Christian. With Fritz Schlosser Goethe was afterwards on particularly friendly terms.—TR.

³ *Kränzchen* literally means a garland. *Stiftungslied* = a poem for the foundation of an institution. See Goethe's *Gesellige Lieder*, "Was gehst du, schöne Nachbarin, Im Garten so allein?"—TR.

Goethe. He was, besides, occupied with a report on the prize pieces, and in fixing the prize theme for the coming year. As the *Propyläen* had ceased, the communications to the public on the subject would in future appear in the *Allgemeine Literaturzeitung*. It was found possible to offer a prize twice as large as last year's. Goethe found himself in the mood for poetic labour also, notwithstanding December weather; the first act of *Eugenie*, still a secret from every one, was now completed. On December 27 Schiller finished the adaptation of Gozzi's *Turandot*, which was to be the birthday piece of the Duchess Luise; yet illness prevented him from being present at the second *Kränzchen* on New Year's Eve. Goethe composed for this *Kränzchen* a beautiful lyric on the change of year, which, with all its gaiety and rapid movement, is full of thought and suggestion.¹

Very cheerily did Goethe begin the second year of the nineteenth century. To the disgust of Charlotte von Stein, he went out sleighing with Christiane.² On great sleighing parties he usually offered the place at his side to some noble lady. *Ion* was acted on January 2, and aroused loud outcry on the ground of immorality. Böttiger, who bore a grudge against the brothers Schlegel, wrote an article for the *Journal des Luxus und der Moden*, in which the representation was praised but the bitterest remarks made about the piece and its author. When Goethe got word of this, the number of the *Journal* not being yet published, he procured from the editor the sheet containing Böttiger's article, and having read it he declared that if it were published he should go straight to the Duke

¹ See in Goethe's *Gesellige Lieder* the poem *Zum neuen Jahr*, "Zwischen dem Alten, Zwischen dem Neuen."—TR.

² Charlotte von Stein writes to Fritz, January 7, 1802:—"Gestern fuhr er mit seiner Hausmamsell auf der Schlitten." See Düntzer, *Charlotte von Stein*, ii. 145.—TR.

and resign the direction of the Weimar Theatre. He added that he was ready to supply reports of the theatre himself. The article was not published. Most of the evenings were spent with Schiller, (who was one of those hostile to Schlegel and *Ion*). Before going (Jan. 17) to Jena he committed the superintendence of the rehearsals to Schiller, and asked him for a stage adaptation of *Iphigenie*.

The main cause of his visit to Jena was the Büttner Library. The introduction of order into this "dreadful chaos"¹ was rendered more difficult by the Duke's having made over Büttner's house without further ceremony to the new Commandant, von Hendrich. Goethe now meant to carry out an earlier design of his, a general catalogue of the Weimar Library and of the two libraries at Jena.² He began an exposition of the principles on which the Weimar Theatre was conducted for the *Journal des Luxus*, and he wrote the beautiful stanzas³ addressed to the Duchess to be spoken at the pageant which was to be given under his management on the Birthday *Redoute*. He returned to Weimar on January 28, 1802, and on that day conducted the final rehearsal of *Turandot*. On the following evening, Friday, January 29, the Birthday *Redoute* and the pageant took place. To the horror of the polite society which despised and hated Christiane, "Amor" in the pageant was personated by August Goethe, who handed to the Duchess the stanzas written by his father, having been borne through the hall by "Momus" and "Satyr." The Hereditary Prince represented "Epos;" the Princess Caroline, "Fama," held a garland

¹ Goethe to Schiller, January 22, 1802. See also Goethe's letters to Voigt on the subject. In one he writes that "the most fluent tongue and the most skilful pen are not able to describe the condition in which we found these rooms." See also the *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte* for 1802.—TR.

² Goethe to Schiller, December 9, 1797; January 19, 1802.—TR.

³ See Hempel's *Goethe*, xi. 234.—TR.

above the head of "Epos." When the pageant was over the Princess sought out Goethe and presented the garland to him. The angry eyes of the fine ladies did not prevent poor Christiane, who was present, from a hearty childish enjoyment of the fine sights. On the Duchess's birthday, January 30, 1802, *Turandot* was presented and proved very successful; it was repeated on February 2, when to add to the interest, the riddles propounded by the Chinese Princess were new.

The tiresome building of the Castle gave Goethe some trouble at this time. But a more important matter was the breach with Kotzebue. Kotzebue's piece *Die Deutschen Kleinstädter* was to be played in Weimar, but Goethe had required that first a number of passages should be omitted which seemed to him unsuited to Weimar. Kotzebue would not consent, and, strange enough! called on Schiller to take his part. But Schiller, having read the piece, declared his opinion to concur with Goethe's. Then Kotzebue agreed to the larger number of alterations, but took his final stand upon the maintenance intact of certain five passages objected to by Goethe; Weimar should not have the play at all otherwise. But Goethe was not the man to yield to defiance what he had not yielded to persuasion, and so Weimar had not the play and Kotzebue became an enemy.

The reader will remember how much a new theatre was needed at Lauchstedt.¹ It was resolved to begin it this year, and the necessary preparations were entered on. The *Kränzchen* had been closed by Goethe, who wished to draw back into himself again. When asked why he closed them he replied, "Sprecht, ich sei der Bär."²

Goethe returned to Jena about the 8th of February. Al-

¹ See p. 155.—TR.

² "Say, I am the Bear." Cp. vol. i. pp. 269, 287, 288. See Düntzer, *Goethe's lyrische Gedichte erläutert*, i. 278.—TR.

though the difficult task of getting the Büttner Library into order laid heavy claim on his time, the stay in Jena offered him a good deal of pleasure. Nay, he even felt inspired to some lyrics¹ which flowed forth fresh and fair and perfect as of old. An especial pleasure was his bright delightful alliance with Professor Hufeland's² wife, a lover of singing. Another friend of Goethe's was Silvie von Ziegesar, a charming girl of sixteen, who lived in Drakendorf, not far from Jena. After some hesitation Goethe yielded to his desire to give a *Kränzchen* of farewell in honour of the Hereditary Prince, who was about to travel to Paris accompanied by the lately appointed *Geheimerath* von Wolzogen. For this purpose he returned to Weimar. The *Kränzchen*, at which the Hereditary Prince and the Princess Caroline were present, was held on February 22, 1802. Two of Goethe's *Gesellige Lieder* and a poem of farewell, composed by Schiller, were sung.

Goethe spent the end of February in Weimar. During this time he had a visit which gave him great pleasure. For some years he had been on friendly terms with Karl Friedrich Zelter of Berlin, who had composed several things for him. Zelter, now forty-three, was a Master Mason and Director of the Singing Academy. Zelter wore short black silk breeches, silk stockings, and on his shoes great silver buckles. He combined a solid and rugged independence with tenderness of feeling.³ Goethe felt much attracted; even spectacles, usually so repellent to him, were in Zelter a venial fault. He

¹ Goethe to Schiller, February 19, 1802. The lyrics probably were *Tischlied*, and *Generalbeichte*. See the *Gesellige Lieder*. It was at this time too that Goethe begun *Hochzeitlied*. See the *Balladen*. — Düntzer, *Goethe's lyrische Gedichte*, i. 278-9.—TR.

² This was the Jurist Gottlieb Hufeland, not the professor of medicine Christoph Wilhelm Hufeland, who had been called to Berlin.—TR.

³ See Eckermann, *Gespräche mit Goethe*, December 4, 1823 — (the end). As to Zelter's spectacles see April 5, 1830.—TR.

made Zelter come and stay in his house, and thus learned a good deal, and gave him several of his songs to compose. As for Zelter, he was transported; he writes of his visit:—"I thank God daily on the knees of my heart that I have seen your face at last. Remembrance of those days will only cease when my memory ceases. A new spirit has been waked in me by contact with you, and if I have produced or shall produce anything worthy of the Muses, I know that it is a gift and whence it comes."

Kotzebue, who had long been trying to discredit Goethe's Wednesday evening *Kränzchen* by a more brilliant and showy one held on Thursdays, now resolved to play what he thought a trump-card against the poet whom he hated, envying his lofty genius and his stable power. If all went, indeed, according to Kotzebue's hope, a breach between Schiller and Goethe would be effected. He organised a *fête* to celebrate Schiller's Name-Day, March 5, 1802.¹ There should be recitations from Schiller's works in the Town Hall of Weimar, terminating with *Das Lied von der Glocke*, at the end of which the Master Bell-founder, personated by Kotzebue himself, should strike the mould of the bell and disclose Dannecker's bust of Schiller. Even for the Countess von Egloffstein and Amalia von Imhof the temptation to show off was too strong. Many preparations were made, a great deal of trouble taken, and, after all, the scheme broke down miserably on the refusal of the *Bürgermeister* to lend the Town Hall, which had lately been fitted up with new decorations and a new platform. Goethe was meanwhile spending pleasant days in Jena, whither he had gone early in March, and Schiller, who filled his place at the rehearsals, held completely aloof from the honours that were meant to betray.

¹ Falk, Ludecus, and Goethe himself have left accounts of this scheme and its results. See the *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte* for 1802, and Biedermann's note (Hempel's *Goethe*, xxvii. 408-9).—Tr.

During a short interval spent in Weimar Goethe asked Herder to confirm August in the boy's own home. Herder consenting, Goethe wrote a letter of warm thanks to his old friend who is so good as to introduce August into the Christian community by a more liberal way than precedent authorises. August, accompanied by his tutor, shall present himself to Herder.¹ Immediately after this Goethe returned to Jena, taking with him his brother-in-law Vulpius, who had been appointed library-amanuensis. All went well with Goethe this time in Jena; he felt the lyric stir and thrill again,² and the poems that he wrote were like the fresh blossoms of the spring. On May 15, 1802, he returned to be present at *Iphigenie*, which Schiller had prepared for the theatre. The piece made a deep and noble impression. Goethe, with that theory in mind that it is well to accustom actors and spectators to every form of the drama, had ere this resolved on a very bold step. Friedrich Schlegel's tragedy *Alarcos* is a strange mixture of the antique and romantic, Greek trimeters and Spanish assonances, iambics and trochaics, rhymed and unrhymed verse. This play Goethe resolved to bring on the Weimar stage, though Schiller expressed doubt, and Goethe

¹ Goethe to Herder, Weimar, April 26, 1802.—TR.

² Goethe to Schiller, May 4, 1802.—Probably the lyrics written at this time were *Frühlingsorakel*—"Du prophet'scher Vogel Du, Blüten-sänger, O Coucou!" and *Bergschloss* :—

Da droben auf jenem Berge
Da steht ein altes Schloss,
Wo hinter Thoren und Thüren
Sonst lauerten Ritter und Ross.

See Düntzer, *Goethe's lyrische Gedichte*, i. 279, (where read *Lieder* 75, not *Lieder* 15). See in Mr. Hutton's Essay on Goethe comment on this poem *Bergschloss* and a translation. *Geistesgruss*, composed on the voyage down the Lahn in 1774, is next to *Bergschloss* in the arrangement of the *Lieder*.—TR.

agreed with him that the play was full of faults. It was a bold undertaking of the master, who cared little about external success or failure, but who was resolved on carrying out a strong will, made stronger by having hitherto overborne all opposition. Goethe had at this time but one cause of anxiety—Christiane was very poorly.¹

Goethe went, about May 20, 1802, to Lauchstedt for a week, and found the building of the new theatre progressing. After he had returned *Alarcos* was given (May 29), and, notwithstanding the most careful and finished acting, the piece was a complete failure.² Untroubled by this, Goethe went a week later (on June 6, 1802) to Jena, to compose the opening piece for the Lauchstedt Theatre, and returned with the piece finished on the morning of June 13, the day on which August was confirmed.

After a short stay in Weimar, Goethe went to Lauchstedt,³ accompanied by Christiane and August, and on Sunday, June 27,⁴ 1802, the new theatre was opened. Ludecus tells how, when he arrived in Lauchstedt at seven o'clock in the morning, he saw Goethe in a blue overcoat in front of the theatre. Goethe was glad that Ludecus had accepted his invitation to

¹ See in the book *Freundschaftliche Briefe von Goethe und seiner Frau an Nicolaus Meyer*, the affecting letter of Christiane to Nikolaus Meyer at this time. Meyer had been in Weimar again during January and February 1802.—Tr.

² This is the occasion on which Goethe is related to have stood up and said: "Let no one laugh!"—Tr.

³ He left soon after the Duke's departure, which took place on June 20, 1802. Düntzer, *Goethe und Karl August*, ii. 403.—Tr.

⁴ Goethe, in the *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte*, says June 26, 1802. This is a mistake, according to Düntzer. See *Goethe und Karl August*, ii. 403. Ludecus mentions that the day was Sunday. June 26 was a Saturday. (There is, however, some evidence in favour of June 26. See Biedermann's note to the *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte* for 1802. Hempel's *Goethe*, xxvii. 413.)—Tr.

be present at the opening performance, and conducted him into the theatre immediately. To the astonishment of Ludecus, the fitting up of the interior was in active progress, and all appeared to be in indescribable confusion. Ludecus exclaimed in surprise: "And here it is proposed to act a play to-night?" To which Goethe triumphantly answered: "Here a play shall be acted to-night!" At six in the evening a trumpet sounded to give notice of the performance. The theatre could hold one thousand spectators; there were about eight hundred present. At the close of the opening piece, *Was wir bringen*, the students from Halle University cried: "Long live the greatest Master of Art, Goethe!" To this performance Goethe had invited Reichardt (who had visited him lately) and the philologist Friedrich August Wolf.

Accompanied by Wolf, Christiane, and August, Goethe went after a while to Halle,¹ where he and his made the acquaintance of most of the professors. Here August learned to swim. To Reichardt, in Giebichenstein, near Halle, a pleasant visit was paid by the whole family. Goethe found many objects of attraction to prolong his stay in the university city; but Christiane and August returned after a few days to gay Lauchstedt, to use the baths and enjoy life. Christiane's greatest pleasure was dancing, and there were innumerable hops and balls in Lauchstedt.² On July 25, 1802, Goethe returned to Weimar.

The affairs of the library drew him very soon (August 3, 1802) to Jena. Here, surrounded by museums and all those influences which in former years had led him to the natural

¹ About July 12, 1802. Düntzer, *Goethe und Karl August*, ii. 405.
—TR.

² See Christiane's second letter to Nikolaus Meyer. She made the acquaintance of Reichardt's and Wolf's daughters, and was treated by all with great friendliness.—TR.

sciences, the old interest in them revived, and he studied with special attention Comparative Anatomy and the Metamorphosis of Insects; then the Theory of Colour occupied him, and the remarkable *Appendix* for the new edition of his translation of the *Life of Benvenuto Cellini*.¹ He enjoyed constant delightful and helpful intercourse with the families of the bookseller Frommann, the theologian Paulus, the jurist Hufeland, the anatomist Loder, and others. The Art Exhibition, less brilliant this year than in other years,² drew him back to Weimar at length.³ On September 25, 1802, the Weimar Theatre began its season with the piece played at the opening of Lauchstedt Theatre, *Was wir bringen*. A few days later Professor Batsch of Jena died unexpectedly; his death was a great loss to the Botanic Gardens and to Goethe. On a short visit to Jena caused by this incident, Goethe had the friendliest meeting with Voss, who shortly before had settled in Jena.

Another loss at this time was that of the daily companionship of Heinrich Meyer, who, intending to marry at Christmas, left Goethe's house for one of his own. August inherited Meyer's room, and could now display his collections (chiefly of coins and minerals) to the best advantage. Schiller's children and he were the best friends; they had even instituted an Order among themselves, the insignia of which were sometimes awarded to grown-up people. During November 1802, Goethe revised that remarkable cluster of *Gesellige Lieder*

¹ The first edition in book form of this translation was published in 1798. That with the *Appendix*, in 1803.—TR.

² See in Düntzer's *Goethe und Karl August*, ii. 411-414, the account of the visit of the sculptor Schadow to Weimar.—TR.

³ Probably after August 20, and before August 23, 1802, Düntzer, *Goethe und Karl August*, ii. 409. On August 23 Corona Schröter died at Ilmenau.—TR.

which had sprung up during the two past years, and worked on the usual annual report on the prize pieces ; but it was a time of creative activity also ; the second act of *Eugenie* was forming. He drew back from the Court at this period. A Court attempt to draw Schiller into nearer relations was not successful, though with that end in mind a diploma of nobility for him was procured in Vienna.

It was at this time that Herder complained to the Duke of the injury done to the *Gymnasium* by the withdrawal of the children who served as a chorus at the public representations of operas and the numerous rehearsals. Goethe could only reply that without the aid from the children no opera was possible, and that already it was arranged to have the rehearsals at other than the school hours. He could not procure a regular chorus when needed, and there was not money to pay for the institution of choristers. This was a period of deeper anxiety on a graver subject ; Christiane's confinement was approaching. Goethe was about to go to Jena for the sake of intercourse with Voss, when Christiane bore a daughter.¹ On the following day, to Goethe's bitter sorrow, the infant died. This was the fourth little comer that had suddenly departed after the briefest stay ; and her coming had given him such joy ! If the passionate outbreak of his grief lasted but a short time, the bereavement worked the more enduring inward effects.²

During the first quarter of the New Year 1803, Goethe, unwell, unstrung, and dejected about his position in Weimar, remained shut up indoors most of his time. Such sad quarantines were henceforward frequent with him ; in them while living entirely to himself, to his own thoughts and emotions,

¹ December 18, 1802. Düntzer, *Charlotte von Stein*, ii. 159.—TR.

² Schiller showed great sympathy with Christiane on this occasion. See Goethe to Schiller, December 19, 1802.—TR.

he collected himself for renewed living in the world. The retirement of which we are now speaking was used in bringing to completion *Eugenie*, a piece which rose from the depth of his heart, for in it the primary effort was to set forth an after-throbbing grief like his own—the grief of a father who has lost his daughter. But he had many other employments; thus he was still working on the *Appendix* to the *Life of Cellini*, and he spent time in arranging a collection of coins which were the result of his interest in Cellini. During the beginning of this “quarantine”¹ Goethe would only receive strangers of real eminence. Thus the famous discoverer in acoustic, E. F. Chladni, visited him, and after his usual fashion he absorbed what Chladni had to give and moulded it anew, beside gaining positive immediate furtherance as to his Theory of Colour, since there are many senses in which the relations of sounds and colours may be said to cross each other.² The gladdening influence of music was not forgotten. In December 1802 Zelter had thrown out a hope of visiting Weimar in the beginning of February 1803, and Goethe looked forward to this visit with much pleasure, but the friends were, after all, disappointed. (Beside the delight of personal intercourse with Zelter, Goethe had wished to ask him questions about the organisation of the opera and the orchestra in Weimar, now about to be carried out on a scale intended rather to meet future than present needs.³) Even Schiller, having to economise time and strength, did not come to Goethe, though he visited the theatre and the *Redoute*. At Goethe’s request Schiller sent him a transcript of *Die Braut von Messina* on

¹ Schiller to Goethe [end of January], 1803.—TR.

² Goethe to Schiller, January 26, 1803.—TR.

³ Goethe to Zelter, March 10, 1803, *Briefwechsel zwischen Goethe und Zelter in den Jahren 1796-1832*. Herausgegeben von Dr. Friedrich Wilhelm Riemer (Berlin 1833-4; six volumes).—TR.

February 5, 1803, and on the day after he at length visited him, when the play was thoroughly talked over. We find the Duke somewhat later sending Goethe a number of the new paper of Kotzebue and Merkel, *Der Freimüthige*, with the remark :—"We must take the thing in between us all in order to remain *au courant* of the impertinences." The shabby attacks of the superficial Kotzebue, (whom the Berlin Academy of Sciences had just admitted to the Class of Belles Lettres), did not tend to dispel Goethe's depression. The *Zeitung für die elegante Welt*, it is true, took up his part, still he was embittered. He did not permit the matter to turn him aside in his path; only in silence he revenged himself with some satirical verse.¹

Henceforward he occasionally saw a small assembly at his own house, and had the actors to him often there. On March 10, 1803, he conducted a rehearsal of Schiller's *Braut von Messina*, and then he had a reading rehearsal of his own *Eugenie*. He cautioned the actors not to betray anything of the substance of the piece. All that even Schiller knew was the name, and what memoirs had been worked on. On March 19, 1803, Goethe left his retreat in order to be present at the performance of *Die Braut von Messina*,² but afterwards shut himself obstinately from the world again,³ only receiving

¹ See *Ultimatum*, Hempel's *Goethe*, iii. 300. There is an important passage at the end of Christiane's letter to Nikolaus Meyer, February 7, 1803, which helps us to see how Goethe felt about personal attacks on himself. Düntzer (*Goethe und Karl August*, ii. 426) hears Goethe's own voice in this passage.—Tr.

² Crabb Robinson was at this performance. He by mistake places it on the 20th. The Jena students cheered for Schiller, though it was contrary to the rules of the Weimar Theatre to express applause by cheering. Clapping alone was permissible.—Tr.

³ See the important evidence of his state at this time in Christiane's letter to Nikolaus Meyer, April, 21, 1803.—Tr.

Schiller, a few men of eminence, and his actors; besides that he continued to give occasional little concerts. To one of these, on March 28, 1803, we find the lately returned Hereditary Prince invited.

On April 2, 1803, *Eugenie* was acted. Goethe was not present. The play, a model of simple, noble style, made a beautiful impression. Schiller wrote to Iffland that it was a piece of a lofty, moving kind, and that with its great female *début* part it could not fail to draw on the German stage.¹

Goethe's depression had not yet departed, and he continued for some time his retired indoor life. It is probable that he was present when, on the 23d of April 1803, Schiller's *Jungfrau von Orleans* was at length² acted on the Weimar stage; we find him after this in intercourse with society, and visiting the Duchess Amalia. On May 1 the betrothal of the Maid of Honour of the Duchess, Fräulein von Wolfskeel, took place. For the day, which happened to be also her birthday, Goethe wrote a bright little poem.³ Of official duties those which, beside the theatre, occupied him during the period just considered were the fitting up of the Castle and the choice of a successor to Professor Batsch. The arrival, expected to take place in the late autumn of 1803, of

¹ See Düntzer's *Goethe und Karl August*, ii. 433-434. This part Fräulein Jagemann played with remarkable power. Crabb Robinson complimented her once on it, and she said:—"If I played the part well it was by chance, for I do not understand the character."—TR.

² It will be remembered that in April 1801 Karl August had been a hindrance to its being acted in Weimar. See p. 193.—TR.

³ *Magisches Netz*, "Sind es Kämpfe die ich sehe?" Varnhagen's explanation is that Goethe had found Fräulein Wolfskeel secretly knitting a vest for her betrothed. Goethe did not know of her betrothal, and was afterwards surprised to see the waistcoat on K. W. von Fritsch. (The five boys and girls are the fingers of the two hands.) But Varnhagen's story is not quite correct. See Düntzer, *Goethe's lyrische Gedichte*, iii. 358.—TR.

the Russian Princess, the bride of the future Duke of Weimar, made a great improvement in the Theatre desirable, especially as to opera. Schiller and Goethe talked over the plan of a periodical, *Das Deutsche Theater*, to contain noteworthy stage-versions of plays. Goethe unhappily undertook an adaptation of *Götz von Berlichingen*.

On May 14, 1803, Goethe, accompanied by August, went to Jena,¹ intending there to revise his *Gesellige Lieder* and *Eugenie*, and to work at the Theory of Colour. He had pleasant friendly intercourse with Voss, to whom he submitted *Eugenie*; but the rigid metrist showed poor judgment in dealing with the poem, and Goethe came but once to him on the matter. And a course of daily lessons which Voss began to give August died away like a stream in the sand.² Goethe, during this stay in Jena, had the good fortune to get rid of his property at Oberrossla by selling it to the man who had been his tenant. The house there in which he spent so many happy and significant hours has long since disappeared. He returned on May 29, 1803, to Weimar, and had a delightful fortnight's visit from Zelter. After this he accompanied Christiane to Lauchstedt, and leaving her there went on to Halle, whence, after a short stay, he returned to Weimar.

¹ During this visit it was that Goethe saw Herder for the last time. Herder, after some very pleasant talk, made a displeasing remark about *Eugenie*, on which a dreadful emotion seized Goethe: "I looked at him, made no reply, and the many years of our intercourse terrified me in this symbol most fearfully." See Goethe's *Biographische Einzelheiten*.—TR.

² But Goethe was on very pleasant terms with the Vosses. One day he found Frau Voss in the garden working at her flower borders. He chatted pleasantly about her work and advised her to get hardy things, and she remarked that they were such strangers in Jena that they did not know where to get them. Then Voss and Goethe walked up and down chatting while Frau Voss worked on. A few days later, when the Vosses came back in the evening from a party, they found all the borders dainty and neat, and everywhere summer flowers planted.—TR.

Meanwhile all was not well with the University of Jena. Some of her best professors were being drawn from her by the brilliant prizes offered in other universities. And when on July 2, 1803, Goethe again betook himself to Jena for some days, his mind was occupied in considering how best to fill up the vacancies and how to guard against such losses in future. Unhappily the Duke was now in a mood of disgust with the University, especially because he had not means to offer salaries as high as those given to professors by other German states. The Weimar Theatre had a real piece of good fortune at this time. On July 21, 1803, a young Augsburg, Pius Alexander Wolff, offered himself as an actor to Goethe, of whom both as a poet and as a manager of the theatre he was an enthusiastic admirer. Wolff was very young, only turned twenty. From Augsburg with Wolff came Grüner, another young man who wished to be an actor; it afterwards turned out that he had not patience enough to submit long to Goethe's exact and thorough training. Shortly before a third young actor named Grimmer had come to Weimar. As Goethe considered all three to possess good powers he gave them a special series of careful lessons before the return of the company, absent in Lauchstedt.

On August 1, 1803, the new Castle which, during fifteen years, had cost Goethe so much anxiety and trouble, was at length occupied by the ducal family. But a new and much worse source of anxiety and annoyance was prepared for him when Kotzebue's *Freimüthiger* was able to announce with malicious delight that the *Allgemeine Literaturzeitung*, with its editor C. G. Schütz, was about to remove from Jena to Halle. So great a loss to Jena could not be contemplated by Goethe without an endeavour to make it good, and he accordingly set to work and founded a new magazine in Jena. And this magazine succeeded, though the plan had been looked on as

hopeless by Schiller and others. The success was indeed purchased by a really wonderful exertion of Goethe's powers, which might perhaps have been otherwise used to better purpose. Still, beside the great profit to Jena University and to literature, there was much for himself in this labour. On his birthday, August 28, 1803, the first conference took place with Professor Eichstädt, who had undertaken the editing of the new magazine; and not until, after three years' existence, its continuance was assured, did Goethe retire to some extent from active co-operation.¹

An important addition to the library building of Weimar was now begun, and the plan of a new *Schiesshaus*² carefully considered. Meanwhile Goethe's Berlin opponents—one of whom was the sculptor Schadow, a partisan of Kotzebue's and an enemy to the Ideal tendency—had succeeded in having *Eugenie* regularly damned in the Prussian National Theatre.³ And this while Fichte declared the play to be Goethe's masterpiece, and could not adequately admire it. Malice had done its work, though Berlin, before the year was over, tried to expiate the fault by giving a good reception to the play.⁴ Schiller meanwhile enjoyed high honour as a dramatist—the young king of Sweden who visited the Court of Weimar about this time (August 1803), had *Wallenstein* acted at his

¹ Woldemar Freiherr von Biedermann has published *Goethe's Briefe an Eichstädt*, (Hempel, Berlin, 1872), with a preface and notes. A good notion of Goethe's amazing labours may be gained from this book. The new magazine was called the *Jenaische Allgemeine Literaturzeitung*.—TR.

² Literally "Shooting House." House whence game are shot, being driven up by beaters.—TR.

³ Schadow had hired and placed hooters, we learn from a letter of Fichte's. Düntzer, *Goethe und Karl August*, ii, 444.—TR.

⁴ Zelter, writing on October 24, 1803, tells Goethe that *Die natürliche Tochter* had been played for the third time on October 22, and had had good applause.—TR.

special desire, and when going away sent the poet a diamond ring. No shadow of jealousy marred Goethe's pleasure in his friend's success, though at times his own mishap depressed him.

The visit which Goethe had planned¹ to pay to Frankfurt and his mother in the year 1803 had proved impracticable. A couple of years earlier,² when a relative of J. G. Schlosser (who died in 1799) wished Frau Aja to be put under guardianship, because she was spending too much, Goethe saved her. She had the right, he declared, to spend all her property away if she desired, since she had suffered so long, and with such noble patience, under a weary lot. He whose affection was the dearest of her treasures was not one to see her wounded by her power of giving away being limited, or by any restraint on her careless, joyous, innocent life.

In the beginning of September, 1803, Goethe had a piece of good fortune. Fernow,³ who had been offered a professorship in Jena, came from Rome to take it up, and with him came Friedrich Wilhelm Riemer, a native of Glatz, then in his thirtieth year. Riemer was an excellent philologist in the school of Wolf. He had been tutor in the house of Wilhelm von Humboldt, and now entered Goethe's house in the same capacity. Nothing could have been more accordant with Riemer's desire than a life beneath the influence of such a spirit; and, though Goethe often dictated to him as a secretary, Riemer had plenty of time for his own purposes.

After the return of the actors from Lauchstedt, the class of three which Goethe had been instructing in theatrical

¹ Keil, *Frau Rath*, S. 346.—Tr.

² In 1800. See Düntzer, *Frauenbilder aus Goethe's Jugendzeit*, S. 551. As to J. G. Schlosser's death, see p. 178 (*note*).—Tr.

³ Fernow's speciality was the philosophy of art.—Tr.

delivery widened to a whole dozen.¹ Meantime, while Goethe had lost interest in continuing *Eugenie*, Schiller had found a new dramatic material in *Wilhelm Tell*. The two poets laboured very diligently together in preparing a representation of Shakespeare's *Julius Cæsar*, which took place on October 1, 1803, was very successful, and was repeated on October 8. Also Schiller's adaptation from the French, *Der Parasit*, was acted about this time with the best result, the Duke especially being delighted with it.

During the closing months of the year 1803² we find Goethe frequently in Jena, where he shows particularly friendly interest in Voss, whom he hoped to gain for the University. In Jena Goethe wrote that delightful satiric poem on Kotzebue, *Der neue Alcinous*, which he of course kept secret. The remarkable volume *Der Geselligkeit gewidmeten Lieder*, which he had been preparing for the printer in May, had now appeared; though issued in pocket-book form, and in some instances giving the guitar accompaniment to the songs, it seems to have been hardly noticed by the public. The approaching appearance of the first number of the new *Literaturzeitung* filled Goethe with excitement. It was a difficult and critical business; he had to look after everything, from the general intellectual conception of the whole to the smallest details of typography.³ Then he was at the same time preparing his report on the Art Exhibition, which included an essay on the work of Polygnotus. All this coming on him in the unkindly December weather taxed his powers severely,

¹ Goethe jotted down at this time a series of observations on the actor's art, which Eckermann put into form in 1824, and which are published in Goethe's works under the title *Regeln für Schauspieler*.—TR.

² Herder began to ail at this time; the final illness of his life was upon him.—TR.

³ Goethe to Schiller, December 13, 1803.—TR.

and when he heard that Madame de Staël was expected in Weimar, he felt it altogether impossible to go thither to meet her and take part in society. Madame de Staël is welcome to Jena, he remarks; give him but twenty-four hours' notice, and part of Loder's house shall be ready for her; she shall find homely fare; she and Goethe will really meet and speak to each other better than they could in a drawing-room.¹ Schiller spoke to the Duke, who wrote to Goethe (December 14, 1803), approving of his staying in Jena and receiving the visit of Madame de Staël there; but on December 18 the Duke sent a courier, pressing him to come to Weimar, where the great Frenchwoman had been setting everything in a whirl since her arrival on December 15. Goethe, however, remained firm. But when Madame de Staël declared that she would visit Goethe in Jena on December 24, it seemed to him impolite to bring her over the bad road in winter for his sake alone, and he invited her to dine with him in his Weimar house on December 24, to meet the Schillers. On December 18, 1803, in the evening, Herder died; Frau von Imhof, the sister of Charlotte von Stein, had died at noon the day before. Goethe was agitated by these deaths, and the bad weather and the other causes of depression seem to have produced a kind of nervous torture. In a letter of December 20 to Charlotte Schiller, he says that he envies Herder when he hears that they are burying him.

Madame de Staël and the Schillers dined at Goethe's house on December 24, 1803. Goethe was very friendly, but did not at all yield his assent to the gifted Frenchwoman; who conceived that she understood the great poet thoroughly,² and

¹ Goethe to Schiller, Jena, December 13, 1803.—TR.

² See *Crabb Robinson's Diary*, the year 1804 (vol. i. pp. 177-8).
"I said: 'Madame, vous n'avez pas compris Goethe, et vous ne le comprendrez jamais.' Her eye flashed, she stretched out her fine arm, of

took upon her to give him counsel. Yet his very opposition, sometimes frank and direct, sometimes mischievously turning and baffling, charmed her; she regularly fell in love with him, in spite of the "*bonne et belle rotondité*," with which she roguishly taxed him,¹ undeterred by the fact that she did not want for plumpness herself. Goethe paid her the return visit, but immediately after a violent cold brought from Jena confined him for weeks to his room,² so that personal intercourse with Madame de Staël ceased for the present. On her way to Weimar she had visited Goethe's mother, and had oppressed her extremely. Goethe's illness was lightened by a visit of some length from the philologist F. A. Wolf, who came from Halle at the close of the year 1803. The historian of Switzerland, Johannes von Müller, who arrived in Weimar on January 22, 1804, was also admitted to see Goethe. The first act of *Wilhelm Tell*, which he read in the second week of January, called forth warm praise and congratulation.

But Madame de Staël grew restless at being so long shut off from Goethe's society; the notes that they exchanged were not enough for her. On January 22, 1804, she wrote asking for an interview, and her request being granted, she came to see Goethe on the following morning, accompanied by her friend Benjamin Constant, who knew German well. Nor did Goethe remain at all in the debt of the lady on this occasion, who, with all her polish, was "rude enough to the Hyperboreans, whose fine old pines and oaks, nevertheless, whose iron and

which she was justly vain, and said in an emphatic tone: 'Monsieur, je comprend tout ce qui mérite d'être compris; ce que je ne comprends n'est rien.'"—TR.

¹ See Düntzer, *Goethe und Karl August*, ii. 461.—TR.

² Goethe observes in the *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte* that the dear experience of 1801 ought to have made him more careful about residing in harsh winter weather in the old castle at Jena.—TR.

amber, may be so well applied for both use and ornament.”¹ After the brilliant Frenchwoman he felt a desire for intercourse with intellectual German women. So on January 24 he invited Charlotte von Stein and her niece Amalia (formerly von Imhof, now married to Lieutenant von Helvig) to come and see his coins, which they accordingly did. Two days later Madame de Staël and Müller were together at Goethe’s, and the Duke came in, when, as Goethe tells Schiller, the talk grew very merry, and the plan of going through her translation of his poem *Der Fischer* was not carried out. At this interview she is said² to have brought him roundly to task for secluding himself so much, and for being so reserved. If she did make such an ill-judged attack on his deliberately-chosen plan of life, a German retort to her French obtrusiveness was doubtless not lacking. On the evening of January 27 Goethe was visited by Benjamin Constant and by Schiller. Immediately after this he broke his quarantine, though he continued to avoid the Court.

In the beginning of February 1804 Voss came with his wife to stay in Weimar. Goethe had provided them with a suitable lodging not far from him, and there was always the warmest welcome for them in his house. So much did Goethe esteem Voss, indeed, that, in order to retain his services for Jena, he ventured on an act not consonant with rigorous justice, he gave to Voss’s son Heinrich, who had as yet done nothing to prove his teaching powers, a new professorship, which, long earnestly advocated by Herder, was now to be founded in the Weimar *Gymnasium*. It was arranged that Heinrich should soon come and stay with Goethe, and so make himself familiar by degrees with the requirements of his

¹ Goethe to Schiller, January 23, 1804.—TR.

² By Böttiger, who states that he derives his account from Müller. See Düntzer, *Goethe und Karl August*, ii. 468.—TR.

new calling. During this time Schiller usually came over to Goethe's in the afternoons, and remained until evening.

On February 10, 1804, Heinrich Voss came to Goethe, and remained nine days, during which he acquired an extraordinary love and reverence for the great poet, whose interest in him was like that of a father. Every morning he spent a couple of hours with Goethe in his room, and in the evenings listened with delight while he poured forth his thoughts. Goethe's actors' class was now, it seems, merely an assembly on Sunday mornings to read poetry aloud. For the two Sundays on which Heinrich Voss was present (February 12 and 19) Goethe chose the elder Voss's idyll *Luise*. On the evening of February 16, 1804, Madame de Staël and Benjamin Constant supped with Goethe without other company. There was a remarkable wit-combat on this occasion. Goethe pressed Madame de Staël so hard by his rejoinders that she was forced to take refuge in a skilful change of front.¹ Though Goethe would not visit Court while Madame de Staël stayed in Weimar, he was on one occasion at the Duchess Amalia's when she was present;² on February 23 he was her guest at dinner; on February 24 she visited him and lectured him about Schlegel's *Alarcos*, and he talked finely about Tragedy. When she was going he told her that August would call on her to-morrow, to ask an inscription for his new album. As yet the only other entries in this album were by Goethe and Schiller. On February 29, 1804, Madame de Staël left Weimar for Berlin. Goethe had given her letters of introduction to Zelter and to August Wilhelm Schlegel. He felt a glad sense of relief on the departure of this typical French *femme d'esprit*. Her importunity and obstinacy used to drive him into opposition, and often compelled him to carry the opposi-

¹ See Düntzer, *Goethe und Karl August*, ii. 473-4.—TR.

² See the account of this in the *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte* for 1804.—TR.

tion to extremity; for otherwise he must either be silent or say plainly to her that such conflict could lead to no result.

"In mere joy that the Staël is gone, Goethe has been for two consecutive days driving everywhere on a sleigh with his more congenial *Donna*," writes Charlotte von Stein on March 8, 1804.¹ The rehearsals of *Wilhelm Tell* and the needful preparations made Goethe very busy for a time. The representations, first on March 17 and then, with some cutting down, on March 19, 1804, excited greater admiration and delight than any of Schiller's former plays. Now Schiller felt that he was gaining mastery of the scenic art. He had already attacked a new subject, derived from the history of Russia.

Yet he liked Weimar less every day, and longed to find some other home, while Goethe's strong attachment to the place strengthened as the years passed by, notwithstanding the many pains and burthens that they brought. He was now suffering a great deal in an endeavour to adapt his *Götz* for the stage. However, his spirits brightened towards the close of March 1804. Thus we find him inviting Charlotte von Stein to visit him every Thursday morning about eleven o'clock, when he will show her and the friends whom she may bring something from his collection of objects of art. Then there were concerts at his house every Sunday; at these concerts he gave the preference to Zelter's melodies. At the end of March young Voss again came for a considerable stay, during which Goethe was even more amiable than before. Goethe had secretly procured a doctor's diploma for the young fellow, who himself tells of the kindly jest by which the burdensomeness of the moment of giving and receiving a benefit was in this instance lightened.² His appointment to the new professorship was now finally determined.

¹ See Düntzer, *Charlotte von Stein*, ii. 195.—TR.

² See Düntzer, *Goethe und Karl August*, ii. 479.—TR.

From Berlin Madame de Staël wrote merrily to Goethe that she would soon return to Weimar for a three weeks' stay, in order to steal from him all that could be stolen. But news that her father was very ill brought her to Weimar earlier than she had intended, and in Weimar she heard that he was already dead. Her grief was terrible—almost madness; she screamed; she had convulsive fits. There could be no wit-combats this time; Goethe could only try to show his deep compassion for her. She left Weimar for Coppet on April 30, 1804. Four days earlier Schiller, longing to escape from the narrow life of Weimar, had gone with his wife and children to Berlin.

Goethe now again drew near to the Court that he had so long avoided, nearest of all to the Duchess Luise. Heinrich Voss had come to take up the duties of his new post; he lodged close to Goethe, who allowed him the freest access, and a friendship grew between them, which made Voss very happy. The young fellow's father and mother came at Goethe's invitation to Weimar for a few days, and visited the school where their son was teaching. Goethe wished the elder Voss to accept a pension from the Duke, but he would not, whereupon Goethe procured him an authorisation to receive certain allowances, such as firewood and game, altogether worth about 200 thalers a year.

On May 21, 1804, Schiller returned from Berlin. He was not ill-disposed to go and live there on the favourable conditions offered him. This would be a severe loss to Goethe, who nevertheless unselfishly abstained (as formerly, when Herder was invited to Göttingen) from attempting to dissuade such a course; he only counselled a thoughtful "balancing of advantages, and that no step should be taken before the return of the Duke from his tour of inspection. But after a week at home Schiller had resolved on declining the invitation to Berlin, if the Duke, as he wrote to Körner,

would only offer some compensation worth accepting. The Duke returned on June 4, 1804. After hearing from Schiller, he desired him to let his wishes be known without any reserve ; and on June 8 wrote affectionately to him, gladly granting the desired boon,—the doubling of his salary,—and promising that it should soon be raised to 1000 thalers. Besides, the Duke expressed a hope that the Berlin folk would be able to benefit Schiller without any injury to Weimar, viz. that Schiller might obtain good terms on agreeing to reside in Berlin for a considerable time each year.¹

During the summer of 1804 we find Goethe frequently dining at Court, and occasionally the Duchess and the Princess Caroline came with Charlotte von Stein to his Thursday morning receptions. He was often in Jena, and spent a fortnight in Lauchstedt (August 17 to September 3), where at last the stage adaptation of *Götz von Berlichingen* was finished, and a reading-rehearsal of it held. When on the Duke's birthday he returned to Weimar, his time was fully claimed by the Court, by the preparation of *Götz* for the stage, and by the Art Exhibition. Meanwhile Voss and his son had received an invitation to Würzburg University, and the elder Voss seemed inclined to accept it ; but Heinrich was firmly resolved not to leave Weimar and the great man to whom he owed almost as much as to his parents. He was daily with Goethe, often half a day without interruption ; they read Greek together diligently.²

¹ Schiller wrote to Berlin about this, but never received an answer. See Düntzer, *Life of Schiller*.—TR.

² See the letter from the younger Voss to Boie, quoted by Düntzer, *Goethe und Karl August*, ii. 488. Goethe was then especially interested in Sophocles :—

“ But be his

My special thanks, whose even-balanced soul
From first youth tested up to extreme old age,
Business could not make dull, nor passion wild ;
Who saw life steadily, and saw it whole.”

TR.

After many rehearsals *Götz* in its new form was presented on September 22, 1804. The piece was very long; the representation, beginning at half-past six, lasted until eleven. There was very slight applause; to many, one of whom was Wieland, it was incomprehensible how Goethe could have so transformed the great work of his youth. The adaptation had been made to meet the taste of ordinary audiences, and to suit the usual requirements of the theatre; there were several good pieces of writing among the additions, but the unity of the play as a whole was disturbed, and much of the poetry and beauty gone. Too long for a single performance, only the first two acts were played on September 29; the last three followed on October 13. Various causes made it impossible for Goethe to leave Weimar in September and October 1804; thus, though the Natural History Society of Jena had appointed him president, he could not thank them in person. In November he was appointed honorary president of the Mineralogical Society of Jena, in the room of Prince Galitzin,¹ who was dead.

Weimar now bestirred itself to welcome home the Crown Prince and the Russian Grand Duchess, his bride. Goethe tried to compose some appropriate piece, but he waited on inspiration in vain, and at length asked Schiller to undertake the task. Within four days Schiller's lyric dialogue *Die Huldigung der Künste* was composed and studied. On the afternoon of November 9, 1804, the festal entry of the bride and bridegroom took place. It seemed during the next few days as though the people could not rejoice enough. On November 12 the young pair honoured the theatre with their presence; and then Schiller's piece was received with extraordinary delight. The amiability and charm of the Princess won all hearts; she received Goethe in the most graceful way, though for him she had not, as for Schiller, a diamond ring from the Empress of

¹ The husband of Goethe's friend the Princess Galitzin.—TR.

Russia. Nor was there a Russian Order for him, as there was for Voigt. The Duke, however, raised Goethe, Voigt, and Schmidt to the dignity of Actual Privy Councillor (*Wirklicher Geheimerath*), with the title "Excellency."

Charlotte von Stein and her little sister-in-law had become regular attendants at Goethe's Thursday mornings. On November 29, 1804, a party from the Castle also came—the Crown Princess, the Duchess Luise, and the Princess Caroline. Goethe was now busy editing Winckelmann's letters to Berendis,¹ which had been preserved in the keeping of the Duchess Amalia; he was writing an essay on Winckelmann, to be published with the letters. During the last five years Goethe had again felt strongly attracted by Winckelmann. Then, prompted by Schiller, he began to translate Diderot's dialogue *Le Neveu de Rameau* from manuscript, and, besides, prepared a series of careful notes on the persons mentioned, and on the questions of music and literature touched upon in the dialogue. In the latter half of December 1804 Goethe felt extremely unwell again; we find him on December 19 writing to Charlotte von Stein that he cannot receive on the morrow—Thursday morning—as usual. Yet a week later, on December 27, 1804, he had the Duchess, Charlotte von Stein, Charlotte Schiller, and other ladies, with him, and showed them the cast of the Minerva of Velletri, that had come from Paris a few days before. Charlotte Schiller observed how ill Goethe was. Schiller, too, was a sufferer at this time; a heavy cold had left its usual legacy. He kept steadily at work on a translation of the *Phèdre* of Racine, to be acted on the birthday of the Duchess; a translation undertaken in order to please the Duke, whose partiality for the French Drama will be remembered.

The New Year, 1805, in which death was to terminate the

¹ See Hempel's *Goethe*, xxviii. 195.—TR.

great poet alliance,¹ began not very ill for Goethe, since he found himself able to appear again in the "society of the noble and fair;"² but the result was not good; he was laid up, and had to stay indoors for a while.³ However, on January 10, 1805, he received the Crown Princess and the other ladies, though on the two following Thursdays he had to excuse himself. His comedies *Die Mitschuldigen* and *Der Bürgergeneral* were played with great success about the middle of January; he had conducted the rehearsals himself in his room. So, too, the rehearsals of *Phèdre*. Goethe was, besides, busy with important contributions for the *Literaturzeitung*. Schiller suffered a great deal during the beginning of January, and a little later his family were ill.⁴ At the end of the month Goethe ventured out, but immediately had to shut himself up again. On February 1, 1805, he amused himself preparing an honorary diploma for Gerning, as a member of the Mineralogical Society. We give a facsimile. In the pen-and-ink outline round the edge are seen symbols of the storms and weather, of the planets, of the god of earthquakes. Vulcan and Neptune are shown as symbols of the two opposed geologic theories. In the

¹ The story which comes to us by Voss, how Goethe, writing to Schiller, set down, "The last New Year's Day," is well known. And when visiting Charlotte von Stein on New Year's Day, he told her that he believed that year would see either his death or Schiller's.—TR.

² Goethe to Schiller, January 9, 1805.—TR.

³ In one of her letters Charlotte Schiller observes that the air of the Court does not agree with beautiful souls, for Schiller, too, always becomes ill when he goes there !—TR.

⁴ On January 14, 1805, Schiller writes to Goethe:—"I am very sorry to hear that your remaining indoors is not voluntary. Alas! it goes hard with us all, and he who, compelled by necessity, has gradually learned to endure his illness patiently, is best off. I am now really glad that I formed and carried out the resolve to occupy myself with a translation. Thus at least some result has come of these days of wretchedness, and I have at any rate lived and acted."—TR.





figure of the god of earthquakes there hovers a memory of Raphael's cartoons. All in this facsimile is by Goethe, except the signatures of von Trebra and of Lenz.

About the 7th of February 1805 Goethe became very ill indeed; so terrible was the pain that his screams were heard by the sentinels at the gate of the city.¹ During the three following months an attack of his disorder occurred every four weeks.² He was dreadfully weakened each time. It was a colic of the kidneys, attended with violent cramps; and on each return his life was in actual danger. At this time Schiller suffered from ague fits. Goethe's present attack, though so violent, did not last long, and he was soon able to go out every day, but not strong enough to visit his friend; the excitement would have been too much for both of them. His intellect was pretty clear, however, and he dictated at the notes to his translation of *Le Neveu de Rameau*. In the beginning of March 1805 Schiller could resist the yearning to see Goethe no longer, and sent young Voss to announce that he was coming. "They fell on each other's neck," writes Voss, "and kissed in a long, earnest kiss before speaking a word. Neither of them mentioned the illness of himself or of the other, but both enjoyed the unmingled delight of being once more together and in good spirits."

The success of *Die Mitschuldigen* encouraged Goethe to bring his oldest piece, *Die Laune des Verliebten*, on the stage. It was acted March 6, 1805, and must have strangely affected the many anxious friends of the great poet. All seemed well. Schiller returned to his *Demetrius*; Goethe rejoiced in the increase of knowledge of French literature and art in the eighteenth century which his work on *Le Neveu de Rameau*

¹ This is mentioned by Falk in a letter. See Düntzer, *Goethe und Karl August*, ii, 501.—TR.

² See Christiane's letter to Nikolaus Meyer, April 12, 1805.—TR.

was bringing. He had a new and violent attack on March 8, 1805, but was soon tolerably restored; his old friend Knebel found him a week later in his garden, looking happy. Knebel had come to live in Jena now, and Goethe was very glad of this. Heinrich Voss was continually with him, and confided to him all his feelings and thoughts. Goethe and Schiller saw each other at times. But on March 20, 1805, a cold north-east wind came that shut them within doors again, and delayed their recovery. However, in the beginning of April 1805 Goethe felt so well that, when on April 10 August Goethe set out in good charge to see his grandmother Goethe, Christiane

could accompany her boy to Erfurt. But she had been only a few hours in Erfurt when a messenger came to call her back; Goethe had had a violent attack of his illness. Yet he was as before soon restored to a tolerable condition. He was ordered horse exercise by his doctor, and it did him a great deal of good. The thought of the return of his illness troubled him.



FIG. 7. Silhouette of Goethe's mother in the year 1805. From the *Gedenkkblätter an Goethe*.

Frau Aja was very happy in her little grandson, who already overtopped his mother by half a head. The child stayed over three weeks with her. We give here a silhouette of the dear little woman, taken at

this period. It was given by her to Frau Senator Stock, a great friend of hers.¹

On April 19, 1805, Goethe sent to the press the three

¹ Frau Senator Stock was a daughter of the Danish Councillor of Legation, Johann Friedrich Moritz. See vol. i. p. 41.—Tr.

essays on Winckelmann, one by himself, one by Friedrich August Wolf, and one by Heinrich Meyer, which, with the letters of Winckelmann to Berendis, and Heinrich Meyer's *Outline of the History of Art in the Eighteenth Century*, formed the book called *Winckelmann und sein Jahrhundert*. Goethe had grown anxious to publish a new edition of his *Works*, and as the great publisher Cotta was expected to come soon to Jena, he sent to Schiller his agreements with former publishers (Göschen, Unger, and Vieweg), in order that if Schiller were talking with Cotta on the subject he might know all that was needful. (In October 1804 Schiller had communicated Goethe's conditions to Cotta, who on the whole approved of them.) However, Goethe's first care now was to finish the collection of notes for the translation of *Le Neveu de Rameau*, and on April 24, 1805, he sent the last of them to Schiller. On April 25 he visited Schiller, and talked of a journey to Dresden. Schiller thought him tolerably restored. Yet the decline of the University of Jena was weighing on his mind. So many of the best professors had been lured away, and the number of students was diminishing. And now Voss was invited to Heidelberg, and resolved to go, though Goethe and the Duke were ready to do anything they could for him.

On the evening of April 29, 1805, Goethe went to visit Schiller, but found him starting for the theatre to see a *Ritterschauspiel*¹ called *Clara von Hohencichen*, by that voluminous scribbler C. H. Spiess; and having no wish to keep him from going, and feeling too ill to go himself, they parted, never to see one another again. The performance over, Heinrich Voss went, according to his custom, to Schiller's box, and found

¹ One of the many results of the success of *Götz von Berlichingen* was the springing up of plays whose scenes were laid in the feudal ages, and whose principal characters belonged to the old German feudal nobility. These plays were called *Ritterschauspiele*.—TR.

him extremely feverish, with his teeth chattering. He was taken home, and lay for some days very ill, not responding even to the caresses of his children. Goethe, not at first apprehensive, grew very sad as the days passed and Schiller was no better. "On one occasion I found him in his garden weeping," writes Heinrich Voss; "but only single tears, that glistened in his eyes. His spirit wept, not his eyes; in his looks I read that his feelings had something great—more than earthly, something infinite—in them. I told him a great deal about Schiller, and he listened with a kind of ineffable composure. "Destiny is inexorable, and man is little!" that was all he said; and in a few moments began to speak of more cheerful things."

On May 1, 1805, Goethe planned out for Cotta the contents of the twelve volumes in which they proposed to issue his *Works*. A new attack of his disorder came on immediately after this; its violence soon abated, but it left him sadly weak and broken. It was a delight to him when about this time August came back from the ever joyous and loving Frau Aja. So soon as Goethe could, he wrote to her, May 6, 1805:—"Receive, dear mother, a thousand thanks for all the goodness you have shown our August! I only hope that the memory of his stay may give you a fraction of the delight that his account of his visit gives us. We are brought by it again into the living presence of you and of my old friends. Thank warmly for us all those who received him with such kindness. This first attempt to look forth into the world has been so successful, that I have good hope for his future. His youth has been happy, and I would fain see him merry and joyous still, as he passes on to a more serious age. I too in these better days, notwithstanding some agitation, find myself right well."¹

On the day on which this letter was written, Schiller had grown so much better that he himself plucked up courage

¹ See this letter in Robert Keil's *Frau Rath*, p. 357.—TR.

anew. But his head was bad that evening, and he raved a good deal during the following days. On the afternoon of May 9, 1805, he fell asleep, and the watchers took heart. His wife sat in an adjoining room. Suddenly, at about six o'clock in the afternoon, she was called; a paralytic stroke had fallen, the face was distorted, the hands cold; then a kind of electric shock passed over the features, and the great ease and quietness of death had come to Schiller.

Heinrich Meyer was at Goethe's house when the sad news came there. Meyer was called out, but when the worthy man heard what had happened, he was too much agitated to face Goethe; he hurried home without taking leave. Christiane, too, went out for a moment. On her return Goethe saw that something was wrong. After a while he said, "I see clearly Schiller must be very ill;" whereupon they tried to persuade him to the contrary. During the rest of the evening he remained silent, wrapped in his thoughts; in the night he was heard weeping. In the morning he said to Christiane, "Is it not true that Schiller was *very* ill yesterday." She began to sob. "He is dead?" whereupon she had to acknowledge it. Then he turned aside and wept, without speaking a word. He spent the day in deep, gentle grief, in the companionship of Christiane and Riemer. He sent kindly messages to Heinrich Voss by August, and asked him to come to him; but Voss dared not. Goethe could not bear to look on the dead face, nor to see any of Schiller's dear ones. On the other hand he drew near to his old friend Charlotte von Stein, who too had loved and honoured Schiller well. Charlotte writes on May 11: "Goethe is again fully restored, and comes more often to me now. In Schiller he has had an irreparable loss. To-day he spoke with such originality on the physical and spiritual man, that I would have wished to write it down on the spot." Karl Stein remembered to have heard from his

mother that, when she tried to persuade Goethe to see Schiller lying in death, he exclaimed: "No, the agitation!" ("Nein, die Zerstörung!") Not until May 13 did Heinrich Voss venture into his presence. On May 18 they went together to walk in Weimar Park. Goethe was greatly moved when he heard that the departure of the elder Voss was now fully determined on. Schiller's loss he must bear, since destiny took him away, but Voss was being taken away by men. They went home in silence; young Voss took leave in silence. In his home Goethe was very sad; Christiane heard him saying to himself: "Voss will follow his father, and Riemer too will sooner or later be drawn away; then I shall stand quite alone!" At this sad time the Duke was absent on a tour of inspection in Prussia. We do not know whether Goethe visited the Court, it is probable that he did not; but we find him often at the Duchess Amalia's. When the first weight of grief had lightened, he yielded to the solicitation of the actors, that a piece should be given in honour of Schiller's memory. Since by Art "pain should be roused only to be alleviated, and resolved into higher emotions of consoling power;" Goethe would seek in this piece to set forth "not that which we have lost but what is still left to us."¹ To Zelter, on June 1, 1805: "Since I wrote to you last, my good days have been few. I thought to lose myself, and lose a friend, and in him the half of my existence. The truth is, I ought to begin a new mode of life; but at my years there is no longer a way. So I just look straight before me every day, and do what is nearest, without thinking of a further sequence." Yet there was much still left him, his wife and child, true friends, an assured centre of powerful activity; above all, his own creative and speculative genius, and his own unsubduable will.

¹ Goethe to Cotta, June 1, 1805. See Vollmer's *Briefwechsel Schillers mit Cotta* [Stuttgart, 1876] S. 557.—Tr.

BOOK VIII.

THE YEARS OF POLITICAL CALAMITY

1805—1814

CHAPTER I.

FROM THE DEATH OF SCHILLER TO THE PEACE BETWEEN FRANCE
AND PRUSSIA.

MAY 1805—SEPTEMBER 1807.

IN the few months of rest and recovery which followed, Goethe was still troubled by occasional illness. On May 30, 1805, Friedrich August Wolf and his charming daughter came to stay a fortnight with him.¹ After Wolf had returned to Halle, Voss and his wife came to Weimar to take leave. We know through Heinrich Voss that Goethe was in pain at the time from his disease, but it is not wonderful that a certain chill had come over his manner towards Voss, who did not speak a word of his approaching departure for Heidelberg. Cordiality was impossible, in the face of such reserve, and with Goethe's wounded memory of all the affectionate wiles thrown away in the endeavour to retain Voss for Jena. Not long after Goethe had another attack of spasms; but it was less violent than former ones, and on the following morning he was able to receive his old friend Friedrich Jacobi and his sister Helene (June 23). It was now almost thirteen years since

¹ Goethe writes at length of this interesting visit in the *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte* for 1805.—TR.

they had seen one another,¹ and the meeting gave Goethe great delight. Wieland, who of late had begun to draw close again to the single great figure in German poetry left,² was during Jacobi's stay on one occasion dining at Goethe's, and observed how Christiane took the place of honour at the table, and with what tender courtesy Goethe treated her.³

On July 1, 1805, Jacobi left. He afterwards told a friend that during the last two days of his visit Goethe had been almost perfectly the Goethe of old times.

On July 2, 1805, Goethe, with Christiane, August, and Riemer, went to Lauchstedt. He was, of course, soon attracted to Halle, and there spent many fruitful and interesting hours with Wolf. Gall the craniologist was delivering lectures in Halle. Goethe attended these lectures. When one of his fits of illness came on, Gall delivered the lectures that he had missed at his bedside. When back in Lauchstedt, Goethe wrote (July 22, 1805), begging Zelter to come and visit him in Weimar: "I am thinking of a dramatic presentation of Schiller's *Lay of the Bell*. What might not this be with your help! Do come!" Zelter could not come; nevertheless Goethe asked him (August 4) for the musical arrangement of the *Lay*. But shortly after he came quite unexpectedly for a few days, and was very useful. Many matters were discussed between the friends. Goethe's yearning pain found some abatement in paying this tribute of honour to the memory of Schiller.⁴

¹ They had seen each other when Goethe was returning from the campaign in France in 1792. See p. 111.—TR.

² See the reference to a remark by Wieland in Düntzer, *Goethe und Karl August*, ii. 514.—TR.

³ Christiane had been very unselfish and good during Goethe's illness. See Düntzer, *Charlotte von Stein*, ii. 220.—TR.

⁴ The performance of *Das Lied von der Glocke* at Lauchstedt took place August 10, 1805.—TR.

On August 12 Christiane and August went back to Weimar, to be present at the opening of the new *Schiesshaus*.¹ Goethe had arranged with Wolf to go to Helmstedt, in Brunswick, to see the strange old collector of curiosities, *Hofrath* Beireis, who lived there. They started on August 14, 1805, taking Goethe's boy with them. Goethe has given in the *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte* for 1805 a very full account of this pleasant excursion. They visited Magdeburg on their way, and Goethe examined with interest the cathedral and its ancient monuments. Their return journey brought them through Halberstadt, and they thought with tender regret of the good old poet Gleim, who had died there two years before. Their journey ended with their arrival in Halle on August 25.

Restored in mind and body, Goethe finally returned to Weimar on Friday, September 6, 1805. A week later he had a visit from the Crown Princess and Princess Caroline, and henceforward he delivered lectures on Natural Science, on Colour, Magnetism, Elasticity, every Wednesday morning before a select circle, consisting of the Princess and her governess, Charlotte von Stein and her sister-in-law; and in these lectures he sought to interweave ethical considerations. His delivery, the result of careful thought and practice, pleasant to hear and instinct with feeling, charmed the ladies, notwithstanding the habit of often passing his hand over his forehead, in which he resembled Gall. Now at length he ventured on a visit to Lotte Schiller; it proved a strange mingling of pain and pleasure. He talked to her chiefly of Natural Science, and invited her to attend the Wednesday lectures. The Art Exhibition of this year was poor. It was the last, for Goethe, seeing his efforts in the service of Ideal Art working but little result, defeated on one hand by the pietistic tendency of the time, on the other by the natural-

¹ See p. 212.—Tr.

istic tendency, felt ill inclined to continue an unprosperous war. And accordingly no prize subject for 1806 was published. In the Report of 1805 it simply runs thus:—"For the current year our Art Exhibition remains closed. Meanwhile we purpose to hold intercourse on the subject of Colour with the friends of Art and Nature. Perhaps we shall in future appoint our prize subjects with reference to this insufficiently treated side of Art."

Already while in Lauchstedt Goethe had come to an understanding with Cotta as to the publication of his *Works*. On sending in the beginning of his MS. he was to receive one thousand thalers, at Easter 1806 three thousand, at Easter 1807 three thousand, at Easter 1808 three thousand. Cotta was to have the sole right of publishing until Easter 1814, and then he was to have the right of preference if he offered as high terms as other publishers. On September 30, 1805, Goethe sent the revised *Wilhelm Meister*, which was to occupy the second and third volumes of the set; the first volume, to contain the poems, demanded greater labour. But even nearer to his heart than the new edition lay the completion of the *Theory of Colour*, which should appear in the coming spring; and when in October 1805 he went to Jena on University affairs, he worked on this long-cherished scheme. In Jena he was always cordially welcome in the house of the bookseller Frommann. Frommann's wife, an intelligent and cultivated woman, was interesting and attractive to Goethe, and so too was the adopted daughter of the house Minchen (Wilhelmine) Herzlieb, a beautiful girl of seventeen, whom he had seen grow up during the last eight years, since the death of her father, the *Superintendent*¹ in Züllichau.

But already the dark shadow of coming war had fallen

¹ *Superintendent* in several states of Germany means a clergyman of high rank.—TR.

on the land. The Prussians, fortifying themselves in Erfurt, billeted troops all over Weimar territory, a heavy burden that lasted many months. In the beginning of November 1805 the Emperor Alexander of Russia, a man of undoubted personal amiability arrived in Weimar. During his stay we find Goethe dining at Court for the first time in that year. The Emperor sent his visiting card to Wieland and to Goethe. The latter went to Jena again in December 1805; thither, accompanied by Prince Louis Ferdinand, came also Karl August, on his way to headquarters in Ronneburg.

At Christmas 1805 Goethe became ill; his periodic spasms began again and continued during the first five months of 1806, at intervals of three or four weeks. The continual anxious anticipation of these weakening and painful attacks untuned him dreadfully. Yet he went on delivering the lectures to the ladies whenever not absolutely prohibited by sickness, and their unanimous praise gave him real pleasure, though he did not like their devoting a previous quarter of an hour to the public events of the day. He was much grieved by the death of Christiane's sister Ernestine on the 7th of January.¹

On January 15, 1806, Goethe's *Stella* in Schiller's adaptation was acted. Goethe had changed the *dénouement*, making Fernando commit suicide. The piece was splendidly appointed, but the new *dénouement* was felt to be an evasion of the difficulty, and the moral sense was still unsatisfied. The Weimar stage at this time possessed two very good actors in Pius Alexander Wolff and his wife; the maiden name of the latter was Malcolmi.

Marches through, and the billeting of soldiers, continued to weary and vex the poor little duchy of Weimar. Officers

¹ See the extracts from letters of Christian Vulpius, Christiane's brother, in the *Goethe-Jahrbuch* for 1881. See the extract dated January 7.—TR.

frequently dined at Goethe's table. On January 30, the birthday of the Duchess, before the performance of Corneille's *Cid* the audience in the theatre all joined in singing to the air of *God save the King*, and with the accompaniment of the splendid trumpeter band of the Owtien Regiment, verses of Goethe's that expressed the general longing for peace.¹ And for the time warlike demonstrations ceased. In the middle of February 1806 the Prussians left Weimar.

Meanwhile Goethe had written a very searching and appreciative notice of the *Volkslieder* in the collection of Arnim and Brentano, called *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*;² and with Riemer's help had been revising and rearranging his poems for the new edition. Some new poems were written. At this time, too, re-emerged the plan of eight years ago of an epic *Tell*. To complete the first batch of copy only the fourth volume was now wanting, and that would give little trouble. On May 10, 1806, the day after the anniversary of Schiller's death, *Das Lied von der Glocke* was acted again, with Goethe's *Epilog* somewhat altered. Goethe hoped that a visit to Karlsbad in the summer would do him a great deal of good, but before the time for the trip came he had another attack of his illness.

In June 1806 he went to Jena with August and Riemer, there to do his best to prevent the physicist Voigt from leaving Jena with his apparatus for the study of Physics. August soon went back to Weimar, where he was a pupil at the *Gymnasium*. It is related that once when Director Lenz desired the boys to translate the classic poets in German verse, August Goethe refused, saying that his father had forbidden him to make verses. A few years before, when a young man was announced

¹ See in Hempel's *Goethe*, xi. 302, in the *Maskenzüge*, the lines beginning "Herzlich und freudevoll."—TR.

² See the notice in Hempel's *Goethe*, xxix. 384-98.—TR.

who did not know French, Goethe had said with irritation : "*Verse machen können sie alle.*"¹ He had special reason for preventing his son from making verses.

In the beginning of July² 1806 Goethe, accompanied by Riemer, arrived in Karlsbad. The delight in two old pursuits—in the study of mineralogy and in landscape sketching—awoke anew in Karlsbad, and during the six visits of the following seven years continued unabated. The lapidary, Joseph Müller, long known to Goethe, had investigated minutely the characteristics of the various rocks and strata of the district during the years since their last meeting, and had gathered an adequate museum of specimens. This museum and Müller's communication of his views, together with conversations with *Bergrath* Werner³ and August Herder, drew Goethe again to mineralogical investigation, a result to which, indeed, the neighbourhood of Karlsbad alone was sufficient. As to his sketches, he purposed to bring a dozen of them when perfected to the Princess Caroline, whose talent for drawing he was glad to stimulate in every way.

During this visit of 1806 to Karlsbad an important plan revived in Goethe's mind. He had once thought of writing a *Festspiel* in the manner of Calderon, a poet whose work A. W. Schlegel had made known to him some years before, and whom he had learned to honour. In the rich form bequeathed by Calderon, Goethe had designed to set forth in the *Return of Pandora* this thought—that a genuine work of art is only possible through the combination of poetic fire with the ripe skill that comes of well meditated experience. And

¹ "They are all good at verse-making."—TR.

² Goethe says in the *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte*, "end of May"—a mistake—see the letters to Zelter. He has not been in Karlsbad since 1795.—TR.

³ See p. 80. This is Abraham Gottlob Werner.—TR.

now in one Frau von Levezow, by birth a von Brösigke, he found a prototype for the noble figure of the Pandora of his conception.¹

But political fears and anxieties invaded the peaceful mountain valley. Through Prince Reuss the poet had a glimpse of approaching calamity. Napoleon had succeeded in seducing sixteen German sovereign princes into forming the so-called *Rheinbund* under his protection. On the way back to Weimar Goethe learned at Hof, near the scene of Jean Paul's boyhood, how the Holy Roman Empire had ceased to exist.² He reached Weimar on August 12, 1806.

A few days after his return he went to Jena. Here he had the *Farbenlehre* placed in the printer's hands; the two volumes were to proceed at the same time. The first volume contained his new Theory of Colour and the confutation of the current theory, the second volume gave the history of the science. While he was in Jena word came that the Berlin Academy of Sciences had elected Goethe and Cuvier to be Foreign Associates. He was called back to Weimar in the first week of September 1806 by the growing seriousness of the political situation. Karl August made a treaty with Prussia, by which Weimar was to join in the threatening war. At the Prussian headquarters in Niederrossla Goethe and Karl August had a "pregnant conversation."³ The Duke talked hopefully, showed how necessary it was that he should take part in the war, and committed the care of his land and people to his old friend.

On September 26, 1806, Goethe hastened to Jena again,

¹ In Goethe's Diary for July 27, 1806, the two names "Frau von Levezow" and "Pandora" stand beside each other.—TR.

² On August 6, 1806, the Emperor, Franz II., declared that he considered the empire dissolved by the formation of the Confederacy of the Rhine.—TR.

³ *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte* for 1806.—TR.

his primary object being to help in setting out the geological specimens that had just come from Karlsbad. As the Prussian general, Prince von Hohenlohe, was to stay in the old Castle, Goethe occupied a side wing on this occasion. He generally dined at the Prince's table, and there heard nothing but



FIG. 8. Johanna Schopenhauer. From an oil-painting in the Library of Weimar, engraved here for the first time.

politics talked. The greater pleasure was it each evening to join the peaceful Frommann family circle, where he had grown more and more intimate continually. There he always found materials for drawing ready, and his unfinished drawing would lie open awaiting him; he was fond of drawing and talking at the

same time.¹ He returned to Weimar (October 6, 1806) and found all disquiet and consternation there.

Weimar had lately gained a charming resident. Johanna Schopenhauer was a native of Danzig; her husband had died in Hamburg, leaving her in easy circumstances, and she had chosen Weimar as her new home. She was now thirty-six, of charming presence and fine culture. When a few months before she had paid a brief visit to Weimar, Goethe had wished to conduct her through the Library, but had been prevented by illness. On Sunday, October 12, 1806, a stranger was announced at her house; a handsome, grave-looking man in dark dress appeared and bowed low with much grace. "Permit me," he said, "to introduce to you the *Geheimerath* Goethe." Having heard so much of Goethe's stiffness, she did not suppose her visitor to be the great poet of the Germans, until he showed her more clearly who he was. "My joy and my confusion were equally great," she writes to her son Arthur. "When I collected my thoughts I found my two hands closed in his, and we were on the way to my sitting-room. He said he had wished to come yesterday; he quieted my fears as to the future, and he promised to come again." Goethe visited Charlotte von Stein on the same day.

Early on the morning of October 14, 1806, the day of the battle of Jena, the Duchess Amalia, the Crown-Prince and Princess Caroline, fled from Weimar. By seven o'clock in the morning the cannonade was heard. The day was very calm and fair. The roar grew more and more terribly audible; then later it diminished, and at length seemed to die away entirely. So about three o'clock Goethe's household assembled at dinner, but hardly had they begun when cannon shots were heard again, this time very near at hand; at first isolated

¹ See vol. i. p. 204—Caroline Flachsland's letter of November 27, 1772.—TR.

shots, then several following on one another rapidly. The dinner-table was soon deserted ; Goethe went into his garden and walked up and down, while balls whistled high above. It was now about four o'clock, and Riemer could see the bayonets of the retreating Prussians gleaming in the sun as they passed along by the garden wall. After a while French hussars thronged into the town, and soon it was filled with rioting, plundering enemies. A hussar officer, Wilhelm von Türckheim—Lili's son—came to Goethe and accompanied him to the Castle. Goethe sent home word that Marshal Augereau¹ and his escort, beside some troopers and cavalry officers, would take Goethe's house as their quarters ; no one else should be admitted. Soon sixteen Alsatian troopers appeared there, so tired that they soon all went to sleep downstairs in the servants' room. In the building at the rear of the house were many people of the neighbourhood, who had fled thither. Later Goethe returned. The Marshal did not arrive. There is a detailed account in Riemer of the incidents of the night—how two tirailleurs who came were not so easily contented as the troopers had been ; how they secretly got into Goethe's bedroom ; how Christiane, by her presence of mind calling one of the fugitives in the back house up to help by the stairs which led into the garden, freed Goethe from the drink-maddened intruders. When the Marshal² came at length in the morning, a guard was placed before the door (October 15).

During the presence of the enemy Christiane had a great deal to bear from the insolence of the officers, who treated

¹ Riemer, *Mittheilungen*, i. 363, says Marshal Ney. But Ney did not take up permanent quarters in Goethe's house ; he only spent a few hours there on October 15. Still there may have been a change of purpose, and Riemer is probably correct.—TR.

² On November 3, 1806, Goethe writes to F. A. Wolf :—"I have had first General Victor, then Marshals Lannes and Augereau, in the house with their adjutants and suite."—TR.

her as a mere housekeeper.¹ Goethe saw this, and felt that the mother of his son, the saver of his life, ought no longer to remain without legal right to call herself his wife. Since the dangerous illness in 1801, in which Christiane had nursed him with such affection and courage, he had shown himself frequently with her in public, and during the last few years she had sat at his table as mistress of his house; all that was wanting was the ecclesiastical ceremony.

On the afternoon of October 15 Napoleon came to Weimar. He was full of wrath against Karl August, but his anger was overcome by the great heart and will of the Duchess Luise. On October 16 he commanded that the plundering should cease. On the morning of October 17 he left the little city that he had brought to the brink of destruction. If within three days² Karl August would leave the Prussian army, withdraw his contingent and return to Weimar, he might retain his dominions.

On that day, October 17, 1806, while all stood on the edge of fate, Goethe wrote to Günther, Chief Councillor of Consistory and Court Preacher: "During these days and nights an old purpose of mine has come to ripeness. I want to recognise fully and legally as mine my little friend who has done so much for me, and now has lived through these hours of trial with me. Tell me, worthy reverend sir and father, how to proceed that, soon as possible, Sunday or earlier, we may be married. What steps have to be taken? Could you not perform the ceremony yourself? I should like it to take place in the sacristy of City Church. Give the answer to the messenger, if possible, I beg." On Sunday, October 19, 1806, the marriage took place in presence of August Goethe

¹ Luden, *Rückblicke in mein Leben*.—TR.

² Keil, in his new book, *Goethe, Weimar und Jena im Jahre 1806* [Leipzig, 1882], p. 43, says that twenty-four hours was the time.—TR.

and Riemer,¹ but in the sacristy of the Court and Garrison Church, as Günther had no jurisdiction over the City Church. On the following day Goethe dined at Court, for the first and last time that year, with Commandant Dentzel. Next day he inquired through Riemer after the welfare of Johanna Schopenhauer, and in the evening he visited her, accompanied by his wedded wife. Foreseeing that the distinguished circle of ladies, hitherto his friends, would be embittered by his marriage, he took refuge in the generosity of the stranger, accustomed to the life of large cities. "I received her as if I did not know who she had been hitherto," writes Johanna Schopenhauer to her son. "I saw plainly how my behaviour gladdened him. There were a few other ladies with me, who were formal and stiff at first, and who afterwards followed my example. Goethe remained almost two hours, and was more talkative and friendly than he has been for years. He has as yet introduced her in person to no one but me. He trusted that I, as a stranger and a dweller in large cities, would receive his wife as she must be received; she was indeed much confused, but I soon helped her through." Four days later Johanna paid her return visit. Goethe felt a mountain lifted from his breast, saddened as he was by the condition of the city, plundered, and filled with sick and wounded. He was more affectionate in intercourse with his friends, more sympathetic, more gentle, than he had ever been. In the welfare of his Jena friends he showed especial interest at this time.² He did not yet venture to visit Charlotte von Stein. In the even-

¹ Riemer, *Mittheilungen*, i. 373.—TR.

² On October 18, Goethe dictated to Riemer a circular addressed to twelve Jena friends, inquiring after their welfare, and describing the state of Weimar. He then procured a pass from Commandant Dentzel, and sent a messenger who went round to the houses of the friends addressed in the circular. Among the friends were Hegel, Knebel, and Frömmann.—TR.

ings he often went to Johanna Schopenhauer's. There, too, Heinrich Meyer, who had lost everything in the recent troubles, and a pupil of Meyer's in whom Goethe was interested, a young but plain-featured painter, Caroline Bardua of Ballenstedt, were frequent visitors.

To calm himself he began work on the *Farbenlehre*, whose printing had been broken off by the misfortune of Jena. By the end of October Weimar had quieted down a good deal; and the Duchess Amalia soon returned. During the sack of Weimar, poor Kraus, Goethe's fellow-townsmen and old friend, received such ill treatment that he died of it. He was buried on November 9, 1806, and though Goethe disliked attending funerals, he was present. Heinrich Meyer now became Director of the Drawing Academy. On November 10, Johanna Schopenhauer dined at Goethe's; there were present also Meyer, Knebel, Bertuch and Bertuch's wife. Johanna was lost in admiration of Goethe. On one occasion she writes of him:—"He is the most perfect being that I know, in externals also. A tall handsome form held erect, very carefully attired, always black or completely in dark blue, his hair tastefully dressed and powdered as becomes his age—and an absolutely splendid face, with two clear, brown eyes, at once mild and penetrating." The sound of his voice was music to her. On the evening of November 11, Goethe was at Johanna Schopenhauer's, with Meyer, Fernow, Riedel, and the poet, Dr. Stephan Schütze. He was in the gayest mood, and declared himself prepared to come regularly to Johanna's receptions, which, as now arranged, should take place on Sunday and Thursday evenings. Tea only was drunk at them. He was the soul of these assemblies, where a table with drawing materials always stood ready for him.

Now at length Goethe ventured to visit Charlotte von Stein, who had suffered a great deal during the sack of the city.

But his marriage with Christiane had incensed Charlotte: there was a barrier dividing them, she was besides full of bitterness because of her misfortunes, and he did not ask her to his wife's house as he did Charlotte von Schiller. He occasionally visited the Duchess Amalia's, where he used to draw and talk at the same time as in other places. But nowhere was he more friendly and cheery than at the house of Johanna Schopenhauer, whose kindly reception of his wife had filled him with warm gratitude.

On December 15, 1806, Weimar was compelled, under the Peace of Posen, to join the *Rheinbund*, and to pay an indemnity of 2,200,000 francs. Meanwhile, since even after the grimmest fall we must seek to rise again, Goethe caused the theatre to open on the 26th of December. By the 13th of December he had finished the didactic part of the *Farbenlehre*, and turned to the passionate polemic section. He laboured also in preparing material for fresh volumes of his *Works*, especially in completing and connecting the parts of *Faust*, which he promised himself would make a deep impression in its new form.

In the new year (1807) Goethe was often very poorly. (ill) The friendship with Johanna Schopenhauer maintained all its intimacy. His wife occasionally was one of the company, and her Thüringian *naïveté* passed without especial remark. Goethe derived great pleasure from the experiment of the actors Wolff and wife, who, of their own accord, set about bringing *Tasso* on the stage. They surprised him one day with a rehearsal which he thought so good that he did not oppose the public presentation of the play. This took place on February 16, 1807, and was very successful. There was great applause at the beginning, because Goethe had a bust of Wieland instead of one of Ariosto, crowned by Leonore. The actors' lessons in reading still went on.

Soon after this the little state had fresh cause for general grief. The good Duchess Amalia died on April 10, 1807. In three days Goethe composed a short account of her life and influence, and at the solemn service in honour of her memory on April 19, this was read aloud from all the pulpits in the country.

On April 1, 1807, Goethe had begun to hold Wednesday receptions again.¹ At the first of them he lectured on the geographical distribution of plants, with reference to a work which Alexander von Humboldt had lately dedicated to him. In the third (April 15, 1807), the philologist, F. A. Wolf, then in Weimar, gave a short address on the ancients, and Goethe exhibited some flowers, and made some important remarks upon them. In the night between April 16 and 17 an extraordinarily violent attack of the old complaint occurred, its proximate causes being the lowness of the barometer and over-exertion. On the 1st of May 1807 we find him once more with the Duchess at tea; Wieland and Charlotte von Stein were there too. Some days later he had another Wednesday reception.

Now Goethe was to have one of the strangest experiences of all his life, the passionate obtrusiveness of Bettine Brentano. She was the youngest daughter of Goethe's Max Brentano, of Ehrenbreitstein and Frankfurt memory, the grand-daughter of Sophie von Laroche, who had died a short time since, (in February 1807). Bettine was now just turned twenty-two. Almost five years ago she had sent word to Goethe by Charlotte von Kalb that she burned with love for him, as Mignon for Wilhelm Meister. This Mignon fantasy grew wilder and wilder in her. She was a daily visitor of Goethe's mother, and amused her a great deal, but plagued her too. Sometimes Bettine declared to the Frau Rath that she would run off in

¹ See pp. 235, 237.—Tr.

boy's dress to Weimar.¹ She now came in the company of her brother-in-law and her sister. Goethe received the enthusiastic daughter of Max, the friend of his mother, with affectionate kindness, but had to repress her stormy ebullition of feeling. He called her, as he would call other young ladies, his "child," his "pretty, good maiden," "dear heart,"² but was amazed by her eccentricity. She came to the evening circle of Johanna Schopenhauer, and there drew attention by her droll, fantastic behaviour. "A cheery, good-hearted kobold seemed to speak from her whole nature, and at the same time an enthusiasm for music lifted her into the world of souls," writes Stephan Schütze.

A surprise of another kind that Goethe had about this time was a letter from Madame de Staël, who, having heard from Frau von Schardt of his illness, entreated him to come to Coppet. Goethe perceived her intention, and politely excused himself. The Weimar Theatre closed earlier than usual this year. The actors went first to Leipzig, where their season was opened (May 24, 1807) with the recitation by Madame Wolff of an excellent prologue by Goethe. Goethe had commended the company to the kindness of his friend, Friedrich Rochlitz.³

Soon after the middle of May 1807 Goethe went to Jena. Before leaving he had sent every volume of his *Works*, except one, to the printer. The change in the little University city that had once been so flourishing saddened him, and he soon went on with Riemer to Karlsbad.⁴ The use of the waters

¹ See in Keil's *Frau Rath* a letter from the Frau Rath to Christiane, dated May 16, 1807, that is, after Bettine had seen Goethe. (*Frau Rath*, p. 364).—Tr.

² See Bettine's letter to Goethe, Cassel, June 15 [1807], in Loeper's *Briefe Goethe's an Sophie von La Roche und Bettina Brentano*.—Tr.

³ Goethe to Friedrich Rochlitz, April 3 and May 12, 1807.—Tr.

⁴ At the close of May 1807. See No. 279 in Goethe's *Briefwechsel mit Knebel*. Düntzer has pointed out that this letter is clearly dated

in the ordinary way at first made him very much worse, but when he followed the directions of Dr. Kapp of Leipzig, he improved rapidly.¹ On August 10, 1807, he writes to Charlotte von Stein: "During the last ten weeks I have had several epochs in my quiet life. First, I dictated short romantic stories" (these he had had a long time in mind), "then there was sketching, then the kingdom of stone and rock had its turn, and now I have returned again to the region of the freer fantasy, the region where we always finally find ourselves happiest." His elucidation of Joseph Müller's collection of specimens of Karlsbad rock was printed in Karlsbad. In the *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte* for 1807 Goethe speaks of the value of a watering-place in bringing together many important persons, acquaintance with whom enriches and varies life. Among those met by Goethe on this visit were the French Resident, Karl Friedrich Reinhard, with whom he became intimate,² and the Chief Court Preacher, F. V. Reinhard, from Dresden. Goethe found with pleasure that, in questions of ethics, his opinion coincided with that of F. V. Reinhard. Towards the end of his stay in Karlsbad he was joined by August, whom he had sent for, wishing him to see the place talked of so often at home.³

The peace concluded between France and Prussia in July 1807 seemed to promise at least a temporary calm. The return of the Crown-Princess in the company of her husband was celebrated with great rejoicing in Weimar. She was wel-

incorrectly, Jena, *March* 24, 1807. It should be Jena, May 24, 1807.
—TR.

¹ Goethe to Zelter, July 27, 1807.—TR.

² See the important correspondence of Goethe and Reinhard, from 1807 to 1832, published by Cotta in 1850.—TR.

³ Goethe returned to Weimar in the beginning of September 1807.
—TR.

comed to Weimar Theatre by the remarkable *Fore-piece*,¹ which Goethe composed within eight days. The thought of this little lyric dialogue is : True patriotism consists in every man's labouring diligently in his own place ; in so doing he best learns to further the general good. This was the rule by which Goethe himself diligently strove to shape his life. Many things claimed his time and thought. As an officer of state it lay upon him to give his best attention to the academic institutions of Jena, to foster and develop the theatre in Weimar ; at the same time he was striving to build up a new theory of colour, and to bring to recognition a real vivid notion of the simple laws of development that Nature follows in all her departments.² (So early as Easter 1807 in the Fair Catalogue, an essay by him had been announced, *Ideen über organische Bildung*³). In a silent, regular, consequent activity, Goethe put all his hope, and to his mood the eternal mining and countermining of politics seemed worse than futile, likely only to bring fresh trouble on the nation, nay, perhaps lead in the end to its overthrow.

¹ *Vorspiel zu Eröffnung des Weimarischen Theaters am 19 September 1807.* Hempel's *Goethe*, xi. 88-100.—TR.

² This project was in Goethe's mind during part of 1806. See the *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte*, 1807, and Goethe to Knebel, October 29, 1806 ; Goethe to Zelter, December 26, 1806. See Hempel's *Goethe*, Theil xxxiii. Seite ix.-x.—TR.

³ See in Hempel's *Goethe*, Theil xxxiii. S. 3-14, the essay called *Bildung und Umbildung organischer Naturen*.—TR.

CHAPTER II.

BETTINE—ZACHARIAS WERNER—SONNETS—MINCHEN HERZLIEB
—THE *WAHLVERWANDTSCHAFTEN*—THE *WANDERJAHRE*
—*PANDORA*—PUBLICATION OF *FAUST*—DEATH OF FRAU
RATH—NAPOLEON AND GOETHE.

OCTOBER 1807—NOVEMBER 1808.

GOETHE had now drawn near to the Court again. On Tuesday mornings he visited the Princess Caroline, and, "without delivering a formal lecture, he explained in a very charming way highly intellectual things."¹ Then, in the evenings he frequently read aloud to a small circle in the Duchess's apartments; the Crown-Princess, Princess Caroline, Charlotte von Stein, and the wives of the two Stewards of the Household, would be of the gathering, seldom any men. More delightful evenings, Charlotte remarks, than those spent in the eternal card-playing. Goethe's hearers were charmed with the new scenes of *Faust*, (the new edition of the drama was at the time in the printer's hands). At his own house there were little concerts every Sunday. There were indeed hardly ever more than four voices;² still he hoped to develop it further. The fragment of an *Achilleïs*, which was now at length to appear in the new

¹ Charlotte von Stein to her son Fritz, November 11, 1807. Düntzer, *Charlotte von Stein*, ii. 273-4.—Tr.

² Goethe to Zelter, Jena, December 16, 1807.—Tr.

edition of his *Works*, needed a new revisal; and his designed *Pandora* must be executed, since he had promised it to Leo von Seckendorf for the magazine *Prometheus*, which Seckendorf was about to edit in partnership with a son of the famous physician Stoll.

During the first ten days of November 1807 Goethe was teased with the importunate enthusiasm of Bettine, who, with her sisters and brother, had come to Weimar again. Four months before she had opened her heart to him in a dithyrambic letter:¹ without his love, what is most beautiful, most holy, would be gone from her life. Goethe was very friendly to the "pretty child," but continued to baffle her intrusiveness with smiling, pleasant humour. One morning Bettine lamented to Riemer that Goethe behaved so strangely² towards her. He freely gave her leave to write to him, but she was to write especially about Frankfurt and his mother.

On November 11, 1807, Goethe went with Riemer to Jena, where the polemic part of the *Farbenlehre* was being printed. On the way Goethe expounded to Riemer the whole — conception of *Pandora* in detail.³ By November 19 he could read to Riemer the beginning of the drama, and on November 29 he dictated some of it aloud. On November 29, Advent Sunday, he dined with a large company at the house of the bookseller Frommann. Minchen Herzlieb had unfolded an exquisite youthful beauty, heightened by a singular reserve of manner, that indicated depth of spirit and feeling. She

¹ Loeper, *Briefe Goethe's an Sophie von La Roche und Bettine Brentano*, 1879, pp. 147-157. The letter is reprinted from the original manuscript, and the version given by Bettine in *Goethe's Briefwechsel mit einem Kinde* is also printed, in order to allow comparison. The date of the original manuscript is June 15. Bettine changed this to May 15.—TR.

² "So wunderbar und sonderbar." Riemer, *Mittheilungen*, i. 32.—TR.

³ Riemer, *Mittheilungen*, ii. 596.—TR.

made a powerful impression on Goethe's mind, but only roused a fleeting gust of passionate excitement. Thus we find him calmly continuing to dictate *Pandora* during the following days. On December 1, 1807, he writes to Charlotte von Stein:—"I spend frequent evenings with Knebel, where many things are read and talked over. On the whole, with an external remarkable quietness, there is at bottom much activity. Cultivated men, and those who labour in the culture of others, spend a noiseless life. The dark days and long evenings are indeed almost unconquerable here."

On the evening of the day on which this letter was written, December 1, 1807, the post-car bore into Jena the author of the play *Martin Luther*, which had been lately¹ acted with great effect, in an abbreviated form, on the Berlin stage. Zacharias Werner, who held himself to be Schiller's appointed successor, was born in Königsberg in November 1768. Ere the time at which we are now arrived he had put himself in communication with Goethe, who recognised his dramatic power, but felt that great immaturity was evidenced by the "unpleasant oppositions" to be found in his pieces, which were all strongly tinged with mystic sentiment. However, he was now in such a cheery mood that he found it easy to overlook what was repellent in Werner's personal presence for the sake of the genuine poetic fire in him. Thus, on the morning of December 2, 1807, when "Dr. Luther," as Goethe humorously calls him, came, easily introducing himself, he was well received. On the evening of December 2 Goethe and Werner were at Knebel's. On the following evening they formed part of a considerable gathering at Frommann's hospitable house, and Werner read aloud some sonnets with wonderful depth of feeling. On the days following Werner was much with Goethe, and spoke to him of a new, nearly-finished drama, *Wanda*. Werner

¹ Iffland first brought it on the stage in June 1806.—TR.

bubbled over with sonnets, and Goethe caught the sonnet fever from him. He read many German and Italian sonnets, and meditated on the nature of this form of verse. Finally he began to compose himself. At Knebel's, on the evening of December 6, 1807, he read aloud his first sonnet. It is that which stands fourth in the *Sonnette* in Goethe's *Works*, and is the utterance of a maiden in love. Between December 6 and 18, 1807, arose a group of sonnets, two of which are personally addressed to Minchen Herzlieb, but precisely these show no sign of genuine passion. If he had felt passion the sonnet form would not have been his choice; it seemed to him only suitable for poetically refined love-sentiment. It was the amusement and excitement of emulation that drew him to spend his time thus, leaving *Pandora* unfinished. Werner's *Wanda* seemed so important a production of its kind, that Goethe resolved to have it played on the coming birthday of the Duchess.

On December 18, 1807, Goethe returned to Weimar in the best spirits. The preparations for *Wanda* began at once, otherwise his life went on as usual. At Christmas he sent sweets to Minchen, accompanied by a gallant sonnet.¹ Frau Frommann surprised him with the gift of a beautiful letter-case that she had worked for him. August Goethe's birthday, December 25, was celebrated with a little piece by the friendly actors. On Wednesdays Werner read aloud at Goethe's house to a select circle of ladies, among whom were the Duchess and the Princess. He read his play, *Das Kreuz an der Ostsee*,² first, then his *Attila*. Notwithstanding his external repulsiveness, he made a huge impression on the ladies; indeed he had an uncommon adaptability and power of winning people

¹ The sonnet *Christgeschenk*. Düntzer, *Goethe's lyrische Gedichte*, iii. 247, 264. On Goethe and the Sonnet, see note 2, p. 179.—TR.

² *The Cross on the Baltic*.—TR.

to his side ; even the Duke was interested by this very extraordinary saint.¹

On January 16, 1808, Goethe came with his wife to Jena for a couple of days, in order to attend the ball at *The Rose* ; he wished to introduce Christiane as his wife to his sincere friend Frau Frommann, and the whole Jena circle. He had just taken unpretentious lodgings near the Castle of Jena, having been compelled, by the projected restoration of the Castle, to abandon for the present his old quarters there.² At the Frommanns' he read aloud, not sonnets, but part of *Hackert's Leben*.

Wanda, Queen of the Sarmatae, was admirably played on January 30, 1808. The scenery and dresses were very good. It made a great impression on many hearers. "The plot is indeed simple, the situation natural and explicable, but the execution is infinitely tender, and in many places loses itself in the region of mystery," writes Goethe, on February 1, to Nikolaus Meyer. The Duke gave Werner sixty ducats. It was impossible to provide him with any regular appointment

¹ Charlotte von Stein writes to Fritz, December 31, 1807, of Werner : — "When reading, he turns his eyes frequently in a very rapt way to heaven, reads pleasantly when not too violent, and feels a call, as he says, to propound to the world, Love in its thousand differing forms. He has an intellectual expression, often seems to one ugly, and often good-looking, but odd enough. He is a favourite of Goethe's ; they became acquainted in Jena. They were at Knebel's one evening ; Knebel's wife was pouring out tea, their little boy was playing with toys, and Werner was in the height of declamation. Suddenly the boy said : 'The man is crazy !' Knebel cried : 'Hold your tongue, sir !' The mother was horrified. Goethe nearly laughed himself to death. 'Let him off,' said he. 'The lad has half a world in him.' (And in truth a poet cannot be like other men.) But the boy maintained : 'How could he talk like that if he wasn't crazy !' But it did not disturb Werner."—TR.

² Goethe to Frau Frommann, December 26, 1807. *Das Frommannsche Haus* [Jena, 1870], p. 42.—TR.

in Weimar. And ere long the immorality of the life of this "*Liebesgesell*"¹ was discovered.

Meanwhile Goethe had been working on *Pandora*, and had sent the beginning of it to the printer. Moreover, in January 1808 he dictated to Riemer that gay, charming ballad, *Wirkung in die Ferne*. In the latter part of February he became unwell, and had to spend about a fortnight indoors. On March 17 he went to Jena for a few days, to care for the many things that claimed him. At the close of March Werner departed; in good time, while all was still pleasant; he was full of Goethe's greatness as a man and as a poet.

In the beginning of April 1808 August Goethe went to the University of Heidelberg, to spend two years there in the study of jurisprudence. This was a sad parting for Goethe, who was still poorly. "The black-eyed, brown-curved youth"² was received in Frankfurt with joy by Frau Aja and Bettine. (Bettine had leave to write to Goethe.³ When he sent her a letter in January 1808, she had been "beside herself with joy."⁴) "Let his father's city become a paternal city, so that he may feel among his own people," wrote Goethe to Bettine. "Introduce him to your dear brothers and sisters and relatives, and when you are friendly to him, be mindful of me."⁵ The Prince Primate of the Rhine, whom we have known as Statthalter Dalberg,⁶ now lord of Frankfurt, gave a banquet in honour of

¹ This was a title assumed by Werner himself. See the book *Das Frommannsche Haus* [Jena, 1870], p. 88.—Tr.

² Goethe to Bettine, April 3, 1808. Loeper, *Goethe-La Roche*, pp. 164-166.—Tr.

³ Frau Rath to Goethe, September 8, 1807. Keil, *Frau Rath*, p. 368.—Tr.

⁴ Frau Rath to Goethe, January 15, 1808. Keil, *Frau Rath*, p. 375.—Tr.

⁵ Goethe to Bettine, April 3, 1808.—Tr.

⁶ See vol. i. pp. 315, 389; vol. ii. pp. 20, 31, 82.—Tr.

August and of Goethe's mother. Goethe was pleased, and sent his thanks to Dalberg through Bettine.¹

Meanwhile he had begun a sequel to *Wilhelm Meister's Lehrjahre*. At Schiller's suggestion, allusions to a sequel had been inserted in the Eighth Book of the *Lehrjahre*. In this sequel Goethe meant to incorporate a series of tales which he had had by him in an unfinished state many years. He had planned to start for Jena about April 11, 1808, but an attack of the old disorder came on, and he spent his Easter in Weimar. But he was well enough on Easter Monday, April 18, to visit the Greek Church to hear the beautiful singing of some Russians who were going to Paris. After this we find him reading aloud from *Meister's Wanderjahre* one day, at Charlotte von Stein's, to a circle of ladies; another evening he reads in the Duchess's apartments, Charlotte being present.² Goethe and Charlotte had become good friends again. After a short visit to Jena, he left Weimar for Karlsbad on May 12, 1808, intending to make a long stay on this occasion. During his absence Madame de Staël came to Weimar chiefly for his sake; and though the Court treated her in the friendliest manner, she remained only nine days,³ since he would not return from Karlsbad to see her.

Meanwhile Karlsbad was doing him a great deal of good. He now carried *Pandora* forward to a certain point of section;⁴ and he began *Die Wahlverwandtschaften*. This novel is the development of what had been at first conceived as a short tale, like those bedded in *Meister's Wanderjahre*. In it this truth receives prominence, that the most painful renunciation

¹ Goethe to Bettine, May 4, 1808. Loeper, *Goethe-La Roche*, pp. 170-171.—TR.

² See Düntzer, *Charlotte von Stein*, ii. 286, for interesting details.—TR.

³ June 11-19.—TR.

⁴ Goethe to Charlotte von Stein, July 2, 1808.—TR.

is the penalty of any wrong done to the sanctity of marriage, even in thought.¹ Of how many painful acts of renunciation was Goethe himself conscious, that had left wounds often opening and smarting anew!² Only a few traits of the Otilie of the book are taken from Minchen Herzlieb.³

Very delightful were the weeks spent by Goethe at Karlsbad, in the Ziegesar circle, enlarged for the time by the

¹ I collect a few of Goethe's own utterances on this novel:—*Eckermann*, May 6, 1827:—"The only work of considerable length in which I am conscious of having striven to set forth an idea is probably my *Wahlverwandschaften*." And what was this leading thought or idea? Goethe to J. St. Zauper, Eger, September 7, 1821:—"Die *Wahlverwandschaften*. The very simple text of this discursive little book is Christ's words:—'Whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her, hath committed adultery with her already in his heart.'" Goethe to Zelter, January 29, 1830 [v. 381]:—The text the sixth commandment. *Eckermann*, January 21, 1827:—"I do not quarrel with Solger because he cannot endure Edward. I myself cannot endure him." See also: Goethe to Reinhard, December 31, 1809; Riemer, *Mittheilungen*, ii. 607; *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte* for 1809 (Hempel's *Goethe*, xxvii. 186); *Eckermann*, March 30, 1824; Sulpiz Boisserée's *Diary*, October 5, 1815 (*Sulpiz Boisserée*, i. 289).—TR.

² The best that has been written in English on *Die Wahlverwandschaften* has been written by Mr. Andrew Hamilton, in the article *Goethe and Minna Herzlieb*, in the *Contemporary Review* for January 1876. (*Contemporary Review*, vol. xxvii. See especially the good presentation of matters on pp. 214-215.) The best general account of the book is as usual that by Düntzer in the series, *Erläuterungen zu den Deutschen Klassikern* [Wartig, Leipzig].—TR.

³ It may not be amiss to warn English readers that the account of Goethe and Minna Herzlieb in the last edition of Mr. Lewes's *Life of Goethe*, derived from Adolf Stahr's book, *Goethe's Frauengestalten*, is thoroughly incorrect. See Mr. Hamilton's article in the *Contemporary* for January 1876, and the little book *Das Frommannsche Haus und seine Freunde* [Jena, 1870]. See also an article by Hermann Frommann, *Stahr's Aufsatz über Minna Herzlieb*, published in *Westermann's Monatshefte* for September 1870.—TR.

accession of a Frau von Seckendorf from Dresden, and of the amiable Pauline Gotter (daughter of the poet Gotter, whom Goethe had first met long ago at Wetzlar, and who was now dead). And even when their Drakendorf friends left Karlsbad for Franzensbrunn, Goethe and Riemer maintained the alliance with Frau von Seckendorf and Pauline. Goethe was very friendly towards Pauline; in the evenings, at tea, he would read little poems to her; gave her lessons in botany in the early morning, (he had won back all the allegiance of the Weimar ladies this spring with his explanations of plant structure);¹ and used to take her on long walks. On July 11, 1808, he went on a short trip to Franzensbrunn,² where the Ziegesar family were still staying, as he knew. He became much interested in the geology of the Kammerberg, a hill near Eger. On his return to Karlsbad, he was glad to find two painters there—his old true friend Bury, who came with the Crown-Princess of Hessen-Cassel, and the landscape painter, Kaaz of Dresden. Kaaz took Goethe's amateur sketches and altered them until they looked tolerable, and by his mode of doing so brought Goethe from his fantastic scrawling to a purer treatment. Good news of the late edition of his works came at this time. It had sold so fast that a new issue was necessary, and for this Cotta voluntarily paid him a further 705 thalers. At Easter 1808 the final six volumes had appeared, and the First Part of *Faust*, now at length complete, had attracted great attention and admiration, mingled with astonishment. On Goethe's fifty-ninth birthday, August 28, 1808,³ he made up his mind, at Riemer's solicita-

¹ See in Düntzer, *Charlotte von Stein*, ii. 286, the quotation from Charlotte's letter to Fritz, April 22, 1808.—TR.

² July 11–21. (The letter to Frau von Eybenberg, July 17, 1808, is incorrectly dated "Karlsbad.")—TR.

³ Riemer, *Mittheilungen über Goethe*, ii. 611.—TR.

tion, to write an account of his life, as an elucidation of his works. Thus he formed new plans continually, even while occupied in the execution of former ones; and how many were never executed! Two days later he went to Franzensbrunn again,¹ where he sketched his Essay on the Kammerberg, in which he endeavours to prove the hill to be of volcanic formation. How light-hearted he was on the journey back to Weimar, the bright little lyric *Der Goldschmiedsgesell*, written at Hof, September 12, 1808, is a witness.

But very sad news met him in Weimar. On September 13, 1808, the Frau Rath died, after a short illness. Goethe always knew well what a mother he had; to prepare a pleasure for her had been his own greatest pleasure; her praise had continually inspired him. And now no word more from her for ever! whatever his successes and joys in time to come, his dear mother would not be gladdened by them.² It was too sacred a sorrow to find expression in words, and he avoided mention of his irreparable loss. There is a letter to Silvie von Ziegesar which shows how deep his emotion was.³ Karl von

¹ He stayed a fortnight in Franzensbrunn on this occasion, though the Ziegesars had gone home.—Tr.

² I give extracts from the two last letters she wrote to Goethe. June 3, 1808 :—"Thy letter of the 9th May has refreshed me and gladdened me exceedingly. Ay, ay, 'Thou shalt yet plant vines on the mountains of Samaria—plant shalt thou, and pipe also' [see vol. i. p. 105; compare also : Goethe to his mother, August 9, 1779, and December 7, 1783]. So often as I hear something good concerning thee, all the promises stored in my heart live again. He! keepeth truth for ever, Hallelujah!!! He! will also bless Karlsbad this time, and cause me ever to hear good news of thee." July 1, 1808 :—"Thy dear little letter of the 22d June was to me as usual a valued, cherished, glorious appearance. God! bless the watering-place still more, and cause the old illness to disappear altogether."—Tr.

³ Goethe to Silvie von Ziegesar, September 21, 1808. When Professor Düntzer wrote, only four of Goethe's letters to Silvie had been

Stein, with whom Goethe had long been on cold terms, relates that at this time Goethe met him one day, and asked with sadness and affection: "Dear Karl, haven't you one kindly little word for me?" For some time he meditated a special tribute to his mother's memory.¹

For the arrangement of matters connected with the inheritance, Christiane was sent to Frankfurt by Goethe. She had a bright, charming, lovable companion in Caroline Ulrich, an orphan who had found a refuge in Goethe's house. Caroline was a valued aid and friend to Christiane, over whom she had a good influence. Goethe, too, found much pleasure in her delightful presence in his home.² In Frankfurt Christiane met August, who had come over from Heidelberg. They stopped in the house of the widow of the Sheriff Hieronymus Schlosser; her son, City Councillor (*Stadtgerichtsrath*) Johann Friedrich Heinrich Schlosser, aided Christiane by his advice. She fulfilled admirably Goethe's commission to dispose of the matter "easily and magnanimously."³ The property had diminished a great deal through the hardness of the times and the generous mode of life of the Frau Rath. Goethe inherited something over 20,000 gulden in taxable property, which remained in Frankfurt. Henriette Schlosser, the daughter of J. G. Schlosser, writes of Christiane:—"We all like her thoroughly; and feeling this, she is grateful and glad, and returns it, and was quite frank, and of the fullest confidence in us. Her outer being has something common—not so her inner. Her behaviour at the division of the inheritance was printed. But the *Goethe-Jahrbuch* (1880, p. 243, and 1882, pp. 191-198) has since given us eleven more.—Tr.

¹ In autumn 1831 he told Riemer that he thought of calling the book *Aristeia*. Riemer, *Mittheilungen über Goethe*, ii. 726.—Tr.

² Caroline Ulrich was afterwards Riemer's wife.—Tr.

³ "Auf eine glatte und noble Weise." See Goethe to Knebel, November 25, 1808.—Tr.

liberal and fine, an occasion certain to betray, if anything impure were in her. We are all glad to know her, and to judge her after her deservings, and to be able to defend her with others, for an untold quantity of injustice is done her." Of August Goethe Henriette writes:—"He is a very dear, good lad, sensible, warm-hearted, true. He does not, like his father, belong to the order of geniuses. Also, he is enormously glad that his *mother* is now his *father's wife*; he does not seem to love the same things as his father, and will certainly be an honest citizen man of business, yet without being dry; he is extremely lively and light-hearted, and takes pleasure in literature, clings, childlike, to his parents, and is confiding towards us all; and we are thoroughly charmed with him."¹

Almost at the same time with the news of his mother's death, Goethe had heard of the approaching meeting of the Emperors Napoleon and Alexander at Erfurt, which was now a French city. Poor little Weimar, already groaning beneath its burthens, was to be the Emperor Alexander's headquarters, and had to meet huge additional expenses. On the evening of September 25 Alexander came, many other royal personages having arrived before him. Karl August had gone to meet Napoleon at Eisenach, to invite him to Weimar, and to shoot deer at the Ettersberg; Napoleon, intending the bitterest humiliation to Prussia, ordered that there should also be an inspection of the battlefield of Jena, and a—hare-hunt!

On September 27 Alexander left Weimar for Erfurt. Napoleon met him midway, at a little hamlet called Münchenholzen, and they embraced; in the evening they entered Erfurt together. On September 29, 1808, Karl August summoned Goethe to Erfurt. Here he saw the *Andromaque* of Racine

¹ These letters of Henriette Schlosser's are reprinted in the appendix to the book entitled *Briefe von Goethe an Johanna Fahlmer, herausgegeben von L. Urlichs* [Leipzig, 1875].—TR.

played by the actors of the *Théâtre Français*. On September 30 Karl August gave a great dinner, and in the evening Goethe saw Racine's *Britannicus*. On October 1 Napoleon held a *levée*. On the morning of October 2, 1808, at about eleven, Goethe was summoned to an audience with Napoleon. He found the Emperor at breakfast,¹ in the cabinet so familiar to Goethe in old Dalberg times. Napoleon looked at Goethe attentively, and then spoke in just and memorable words the full impression: "Voilà un homme!"² After Goethe's age and health and tragedies had been touched on, Daru mentioned that Goethe had translated Voltaire's *Mahomet*. Napoleon said: "It is not a good piece,"³ and proceeded to explain his view. Then the conversation turned upon *Werther*. After several just remarks, Napoleon found fault with the mixture of motives in *Werther*; the suicide is not prompted by unhappy love alone, disappointed ambition is another motive. On this Goethe ventured to remark that he had a certain effect to produce, and needed a special agency. (The same objection had been raised before by Herder and by Madame de Staël; but Goethe had removed all that could be justly blamed when revising *Werther*, in 1786, for publication in Göschen's edition.⁴) After

¹ Talleyrand, Berthier, and Savary were present when Goethe entered; Daru came in shortly after.—TR.

² This is according to Chancellor von Müller, in his *Erinnerungen aus den Kriegszeiten*, 1806–1813. Goethe, in his *Biographische Einzelheiten*, has it: "Vous êtes un homme." Reinhard writes to Goethe, November 24, 1808:—"Von Ihnen soll der Kaiser gesagt haben: 'Voilà un homme!'" Müller makes Napoleon say it to Berthier and Daru when Goethe was leaving. Probably the Emperor said: "Vous êtes un homme," to Goethe when he entered, and also said: "Voilà un homme!" to Berthier and Daru when Goethe was leaving.—TR.

³ Cp. Sulpiz Boisserée's Diary, August 8, 1815. *Sulpiz Boisserée*, i. 265.—TR.

⁴ But Napoleon knew *Werther* by a translation of the *first* edition; and so, I suppose, did Madame de Staël.—TR.

this Napoleon spoke with impatience of the Fate Tragedies of the day. "What would they with Fate now?" he said; "Policy is Fate!" Then Napoleon talked with Daru for a time. Then Marshal Soult entered, and the Emperor asked him about the troubles in Poland. Meanwhile Goethe observed the changes in the familiar room. Then Napoleon came towards him, and by a kind of manœuvre excluded the other persons in the room from the conversation between Goethe and himself. He asked Goethe sympathetically, in a lowered voice, about his personal circumstances. During the whole interview, the variety of Napoleon's expressions of assent was admirable; for he seldom listened without nodding or saying "Oui," or "C'est bien," or something to that effect. When he had himself made any remarks, he would usually add: "Q'en dit Mr. Göt?" Goethe at length, having consulted the chamberlain by signs, slipped away without further ceremony.

Since the French actors were to play in Weimar in a few days, Goethe had a great deal of consultation with them (October 3). On October 4 he returned to Weimar in order to see the theatre made ready. On October 6, at noon, the Emperors left Erfurt; Karl August met them at Stedten, and conducted them to a large and handsome shooting stand that had been put up in an open place near the Castle of Ettersburg. There already the kings and princes were gathered before them. By four o'clock in the afternoon the slaying of forty-seven stags was at an end; then all went to Weimar Castle, where at six o'clock a great banquet began. At the Emperors' table sixteen covers were laid; there was a long table of marshals; altogether five hundred and fifty persons were feasted on this memorable day in Weimar Castle. About seven o'clock they set out for the theatre. In front of the Castle an obelisk sixty feet high blazed in clear flames. There was a Latin inscription ending with a chronodistichon. The in-

scription was by Voigt and ran thus :—" The very auspicious arrival of the Emperors, Kings, and Princes, the consolation of the distressed [*afflictæ*] Fatherland, Karl August, Duke of Sachsen, has here indicated." A permanent obelisk was to be executed in stone.'

The play given that evening was Voltaire's *Mort de César*. As in Erfurt, the front part of the pit was occupied by the emperors and kings. After the play there was a ball at Court. Here Napoleon spoke several times with Goethe, and finally, after graciously dismissing old Wieland, and before his own retirement at one o'clock, talked at length and very earnestly. He took pains to show that *La mort de César* was not a good play. He called on Goethe to treat the subject in a larger manner, to show the world how Cæsar would have made the fortune of mankind had he not been murdered ere he could carry out his vast plans.¹ (It was thus that Goethe had viewed the subject in his youth.²) "Come to Paris," said Napoleon finally, "I desire it of you. There you will find a wider circle for your spirit of observation; there you will find enormous material for poetic creations."

Next morning (October 7), at nine o'clock, the Emperors went to inspect the field of the battle of Jena; there was to be a hare-hunt at Apolda afterwards. Goethe avoided being present at this humiliating inspection and hunt;³ on that day he gave a breakfast in honour of his guest, Napoleon's Secretary

¹ After the representation Napoleon had said to the Duchess Luise :—*Étrange pièce, ce César ! Pièce républicaine ! J'espère que cela ne fera aucun effet ici.* (From *Knebel's Briefwechsel mit seiner Schwester, Henriette*, edited by Düntzer.) For notes and references on the sources as to the intercourse of Napoleon and Goethe, see Biedermann's edition of Goethe's *Biographische Einzelheiten*; Hempel's *Goethe*, xxvii. 553-556.—TR.

² See vol. i. p. 242.—TR.

³ Karl August excused himself from joining the hunt by the plea of illness. Luise Seidler's *Erinnerungen*, p. 42.—TR.

of State, Maret, and of Marshal Lannes.¹ After the hunt, the Emperors returned to Erfurt, without delaying in Weimar. On October 12 Napoleon granted the Cross of the Legion of Honour to Goethe and Wieland. The letters notifying this, composed in the most flattering terms, were communicated by Maret to the Weimar ambassador, Privy Councillor von Müller. On the same day Napoleon, beside making allotments for the Catholic church in Jena, and towards indemnifying the town for its losses, assigned to the University of Jena a property in the seigniory (*Herrschaft*) of Blankenhain. Goethe had invited Talma and the intellectual Madame Talma to his house, and talked on many subjects with the great actor with the most intimate interchange of thought. On October 14, 1808, Alexander of Russia returned to Weimar, and Goethe on this and the following day dined at Court. In the evenings there were balls; at that of October 15 Goethe and Wieland appeared decorated with the Russian Order of St. Anne. On October 16 Alexander left Weimar.

The greatness of Napoleon had not prevented Goethe from resenting his deliberate endeavour to wound German pride, and from bitterly regretting the terrible cost of this festive show and splendour, in a land already overburthened by the results of war. But Goethe recognised in this dæmonic² hero a born ruler of the world, one of those who find happiness only in rule and command, one who, always himself, a match for every moment and for every situation, diverted by nothing from his aim, reposed steadfast and secure on himself and his clear fixed will. Opposed to this man, all the emperors, kings, generals, of the day seemed of trifling moment.

¹ Marshal Lannes had stopped at Goethe's house in October 1806. See p. 243 (footnote).—TR.

² Eckermann, *Gespräche mit Goethe*, March 2, 1831.—TR.

CHAPTER III.

FROM THE CONGRESS OF ERFURT TO THE RETREAT FROM MOSCOW.

NOVEMBER 1808-DECEMBER 1812.

DURING the four years that follow we shall find Goethe engaged in the same manful endeavour, amid the dreary external circumstance of the national lot, and in defiance of bodily suffering, to develop a useful official activity, to satisfy the ideal claims of his higher nature, to labour with beneficial result, whether in a wider or narrower circle.

In December 1808 he felt very poorly. In the spring of 1809 (after a year's interval), another attack of his old disorder came on. This was the more serious because a speedy repetition of it must be dreaded, while the hostile relations between France and Austria prevented a visit to Karlsbad. (Besides, the intense desire to complete in solitude and calm a work which had taken so painful a hold on him as *Die Wahlverwandtschaften*, would restrain him from visiting the gay, distracting watering-place.) A new attack came before autumn 1809, and the very worst was feared, and afterwards his former vigour would not return. In May 1810 he became extremely ill; it was necessary to make haste to get to Karlsbad, and thence tolerably restored he went to Teplitz. Again, in 1811, a short visit to Karlsbad was attended with a great

deal of benefit. But in the March of 1812, the dangerous political situation agitated him to illness, he fled to Jena, and there such a longing for his fountain of health, Karlsbad, came upon him, that he set out thither (May 1). At Karlsbad an attack of especial violence came on June 26; afterwards, when tolerably restored, he went to Teplitz (July 14). After a month's stay there, he returned to Karlsbad to perfect the cure.

Let us now consider his domestic circumstances. His son was a source of great joy. In Heidelberg August had maintained close friendship with the Voss household, especially with Heinrich Voss.¹ Another old Jena friend of Goethe's, Professor Thibaut, was now a kind friend to August, of whom he had good hopes, but he feared that there was something "hectic" in the youth's nature. At the end of September 1809, after having seen the Rhine as far as Coblenz, August returned to Weimar, travelling all the way from Würzburg on foot. A month later he went to Jena to study Finance, a subject in which he felt great interest. He took his meals at the house of Commandant Hendrich. Knebel, whom, however, he did not visit often, being generally engaged with younger friends, was much pleased with him; and says of him, that he has something positive, reasonable, characteristic about him; that he is of an honest, modest nature; and, moreover, grave, and attentive to his business. On February 2, 1810, there was a very brilliant masquerade² at the City Hall of Weimar. The various personages of the procession were explained by two of their number, a Bard and a Minnesinger, who, introduced by a herald, were led to a place beside the illustrious spectators. August Goethe represented the Bard, President K. W. von Fritsch the Minnesinger. Charlotte von Stein was pleased with the exceedingly fine voice of August, which she thought

¹ Heinrich Voss had joined his father in Heidelberg in the end of 1806.
 —TR. ² See *Die romantische Poesie*, Hempel's *Goethe*, xi. 304-313.—TR.

very like his father's. The betrothal and marriage in this year of Princess Caroline were each the occasion of a series of balls and festivities. August was present at these with his mother. In October 1810 August received from the Duke the title of *Kammerassessor*; however, he spent the winter in Jena. On January 1, 1811, he was at the Ducal table without his father for the first time, and this occurred often afterwards. In the spring of 1811 he went to study agriculture at Capellendorf, a village about five English miles from Weimar. Christiane excited general remark at this time by her excessive abandonment to her delight in dancing; the Jena students permitted themselves shameful practical jokes on her, to the grief and humiliation of August. He seems to have become very much more retiring, and thus came to be called "The Monk." Of a positive practical nature, we find him moving his father to transfer to Weimar the property which stood in Frankfurt in his name, and which was there subject to heavy taxation. In March 1812, August writes to Fritz Schlosser on the subject. His father by his habits of thought can give little attention to such matters, but August holds it a duty to undertake the affair. If memorialised by his father, the Prince Primate will probably remit the ten per cent transfer tax. And August is prepared to come to Frankfurt and Aschaffenburg to look after things in person. Schlosser endeavoured to manage the business through the Minister of Finance. The Prince Primate resolved to pay the tax himself, and to have a medal struck in Goethe's honour. But these kindly intentions were frustrated by occurrences which set the Prince aside.

It was Goethe's desire to introduce his wife into the circle of ladies of high rank. And when she came back from Frankfurt in 1808, after having acted so well in the division of the inheritance, he made a special effort to improve her position. He turned to Frau von Wolzogen, who declared herself willing

to enter into social relations with Christiane. Accordingly, on November 17, 1808, we find Goethe gratefully inviting Frau von Wolzogen to tea that evening, and begging her to persuade Charlotte von Stein and Charlotte Schiller to be friendly also. The two ladies seem to have yielded. Charlotte von Stein writes to Fritz :—"It is not indeed pleasant to me to go into company ; however, as he loves the little creature extremely, I can perhaps do so for once to give him pleasure."¹ We find Frau von Schardt inviting Christiane and Charlotte von Stein to spend the evening of January 10, 1809, with her. But there was no nearer intimacy, though once more Goethe, on May 10, 1810, before starting for Karlsbad, writes to Charlotte :—"Would you do me a kindness ! then during my absence show some goodwill towards my wife and son, whom I am again leaving for a longer time than is fitting."

With Bettine he had at first greater success in his efforts on Christiane's behalf. Bettine, who had not been in Frankfurt at the time of Christiane's stay there, now sent her pretty presents, and was at last invited by her to Weimar. Goethe responded to Bettine's letters, presents, and other courtesies with grateful friendliness. On November 3, 1809, he writes to her :—"One cannot, dear Bettine, attempt to emulate you ; you surpass your friends in word and deed, in courtesies and gifts, in affection and in entertainment, so there is nothing for it but to yield, and be content with devoting to you in return as much love as possible, though it be but in silence. Your letters give me great pleasure ; they remind me of the time when I was perhaps as foolish as you, but certainly happier and better than I am now."² In the beginning of 1810 Bettine gave great pleasure to Christiane by sending

¹ See Düntzer, *Charlotte von Stein*, ii. 301-2. Charlotte von Stein could not go to this tea-party because engaged for another.—TR.

² Loeper, *Briefe Goethe's an Sophie von La Roche und Bettina Brentano* [Berlin 1879], p. 182.—TR.

her a masquerade dress, of which she had been in need, as it turned out, and which called forth from her a letter of thanks. Before going to Karlsbad in May 1810, Goethe writes asking Bettine, then in Landshut, for a "sign of life." Her letters are travelling with him to Karlsbad.¹ His letter was sealed with a little Cupid. When in Teplitz, at the end of the summer, he was surprised by her arrival; her strange being shimmered in the most various hues. She left with him the fantastic diary that recorded her love-craze. In reply to a letter which she wrote to him when on her journey of departure he writes:—"Your letters, dear Bettine, are such that every time the last seems the most interesting. So it was with the papers which you had brought with you, and which, on the morning of your departure, I read diligently, and read again. But now your latest has come, that surpasses the rest. If you can so continue to surpass yourself, do it. You have taken away so much with you that it is very fitting to send something from the distance. May all go well with you."² Her brilliant flashes of intellect and wit stirred and interested him remarkably.

While Goethe was away in Karlsbad, the marriage of Princess Caroline (July 1810) had, as already mentioned, set going balls on the largest scale, and for these Christiane, like many others, took lessons in dancing. She abandoned herself wholly to her delight in this amusement. (When, in January 1810, the bridegroom, the Crown-Prince of Mecklenburg-Schwerin accompanied by his brother, had come to Weimar for the betrothal, Christiane had learned to know them in her own house as intellectual, cultivated men;³ it is needless to say that they had not been wanting in respect for Goethe's wife.) Hardly were the marriage festivities at an end when Christiane

¹ Goethe to Bettine, Jena, May 10, 1810. *Loefer*, p. 189.—TR.

² This letter is not dated. See *Loefer*, p. 191.—TR.

³ See Christiane's letter to Nikolaus Meyer, July 5, 1810.—TR.

hastened with her gay young companion Caroline Ulrich to Lauchstedt, where there would be many dancing-parties during the summer season. Goethe gladly allowed her full indulgence in the cheerful, unrestrained enjoyment in which alone the demands of her simple, childlike nature found satisfaction. Her natural imperturbable high spirits, her roguish chatter, her warm-hearted benevolence, and her anxious, disinterested affection gave him joy; even her little weaknesses amused and cheered him.

After Goethe's return from Karlsbad and Teplitz in the autumn of 1810, he tried to give Bettine's wayward, will-o'-the-wisp fancies a definite direction. "I will confess to you that I am about to write my confessions, whence may result a novel or a history; as to that we cannot be sure beforehand; but in any case I need your help. My good mother is gone, and so are many others who could recall the past to me, which I have for the most part forgotten. Now you have lived a happy time with my dear mother, have heard again and again her tales and anecdotes, and you bear them with you and cherish them all in a memory that makes them live afresh continually. So do sit down and write down what has reference to me and mine, and you will give me much pleasure, and lay me under obligation."¹ Bettine made many important communications, though she had an unconquerable tendency to ornament and trim facts according to the imaginings of her own fantastic little head. She soon came to Weimar in person, and was received as a dear friend by Goethe and his family. The young painter Luise Seidler met Bettine at Goethe's house during this visit. (We have seen Luise, the playmate of August Goethe, in the Castle-yard at Jena, fourteen years ago.² Goethe had felt warm interest in her since September 1810, when he had found her

¹ Goethe to Bettine, Weimar, October 25, 1810. Loeper, *Goethe-La Roche*, 192-3.—Tr.

² See page 145.—Tr.

copying in the Dresden Gallery.¹) She describes Bettine seated on a low footstool chatting, roguish and gay, one little boot green, and the other red.²

Luise Seidler stayed for some time at Goethe's house, as he permitted her to practise at her art by painting his portrait. To her we owe some knowledge of the daily life of the household. She tells us that dinner was served in a small room, adorned with drawings by great old masters. There were never more than eight guests. The food was good and simple; the drink excellent Burgundy. At dessert Christiane and Caroline Ulrich used to withdraw, and at this time August also would seek his own occupations. Luise had permission to remain; this she could do, because there were hardly ever

¹ Luise Seidler had had a great sorrow in 1810. Her lover Geoffroy had died of fever in a military hospital in Spain. It was on her birthday, May 15, 1810, that full confirmation of the sad news reached her. She sank into a kind of brooding gloom for a time. To rouse her from this a friend visiting Dresden took her there. She went to the Gallery; a new world opened before her. She formed a clear, steady resolve to be a painter, and in Professor Vogel she found a kind and able teacher. In August 1810 she paid a short visit to Teplitz, and met Goethe there; but no remarkable friendship formed yet. It was perhaps on September 17, 1810, that Goethe came into the Gallery where Luise was painting. There was great excitement. Many ran to speak to him; but Luise hid in a window-recess. She could perceive by the voices that Goethe was drawing near, and at length stood still before her easel. "This is really an exquisite piece, this St. Cecilia after Carlo Dolce," she heard him say; "whose is it?" Luise's name was mentioned; when he heard it he looked round the corner and saw her in her hiding-place. Her face blazed as he offered her his hand and in a friendly, paternal way said how glad he was to meet her, and to find her the possessor of a talent that he had not known of hitherto. The delicate kindness of Goethe's after treatment of her cannot be compressed into this note; I hope that the reader will seek it in Luise's own narrative.—TR.

² It was in the beginning of 1811 that Luise met Bettine at Goethe's. Compare pages 58 and 59 of Luise's book.—TR.

any ladies guests at dinner. Then Goethe generally would produce some object to form a starting-point and subject for conversation, a small bronze *Moses* of Michael Angelo, Cornelius's drawings for *Faust*, and so on. Interesting, instructive talk whiled away the time, and the evening would come ere they were aware, and with it new pleasures, for they generally went to the theatre on the three nights of the week on which it was open. Riemer and Meyer used to accompany Goethe, and sometimes the ladies went too. In the theatre, in the enclosed box below the Ducal box, cakes and wine were handed round between the acts. Often the evening scene at home was patriarchal, when, for instance, Goethe, his wife, and Caroline Ulrich, would play a game of dummy whist, the accompaniment of punch in little glasses not being omitted.



FIG. 9. Bettine von Arnim.
From an engraving of the time.

Christiane's harmless delight in gaiety embittered the Weimar ladies more and more against her. They were especially annoyed when, in May 1811, Goethe took her and her companion Caroline Ulrich to Karlsbad. Even Charlotte von Schiller is capable of writing that in Karlsbad Goethe has wisely placed his stouter half under the guardianship of Frau von der Recke and the Princess of Hohenzollern, beneath whose ægis her dignity and fame have remained excellent; whereas in Weimar she had only had a certain Russian courier and secretary (Levandofsky) for cicisbeo; who

has often visited her in her box, and gone with her to the shooting-place.

But the bitterest outburst of feeling against poor Christiane had not yet come. In September 1811 Bettine, now Bettine von Arnim, came to Weimar with her husband. She was often at Goethe's house, and with his wife, towards whom, however, she felt a certain secret jealousy. Then she of course felt vividly how far beneath her the intellectual inferiority of Christiane was. One day, when the two women were at the exhibition of pictures, Bettine dismissed with contempt some criticism uttered by Christiane. The latter resented the contemptuous tone, and the refined Baroness von Arnim allowed herself to call Goethe's wife a "blood-pudding." To this Christiane replied, as was fitting, by forbidding Bettine to enter her house. Goethe confirmed Christiane's order without the least shadow of swerving. The Weimar ladies thought Goethe wrong in taking the part of the "globular form of the *Frau Geheimeräthin*,"¹ found no fault in Bettine's insolence, and in all their endeavours to recover favour for her with Goethe, never thought of the one hopeful way indicated by the good Meyer, that Bettine should apologise to Christiane. In 1812 Goethe went to Karlsbad, it will be remembered, in the beginning of May; about the middle of June he had his wife and son to him. They returned about the middle of August, bringing with them a letter to Charlotte von Stein, in which Goethe writes: "The bearers will be able to tell you that up to the present many good things, with evils interspersed, have befallen us." (This letter is not in the familiar handwriting of Riemer. On this occasion Goethe was accompanied by a new secretary, little J. John, not by Riemer, who, on becoming a professor at the *Gymnasium* at Easter-time, had left his house.)

¹ This is one of Charlotte Schiller's expressions. See Düntzer, *Charlotte von Stein*, ii. 352.

At his Wednesday receptions in the beginning of the winter 1808-9, Goethe read aloud from the *Nibelungenlied*, with which many years' acquaintance had made him familiar. He used to explain all that made it hard to understand, and would expound with luminousness and enthusiastic insight his own general view of the poem and of the circumstances and conceptions to which it owes its genesis. One day in January 1809 a cold made reading difficult for him, and he asked Riemer to take his place. The inferiority was extraordinary, for though when Goethe read, the disadvantage of having lost some of the front teeth became apparent, his voice was of incomparable quality. In the latter part of January 1809 Goethe brought a remarkable visitor to a Wednesday reception. It was the somewhat cynical Scandinavian traveller and antiquary, Martin Friedrich Arendt of Altona, who stopped in Weimar for a short time, just then. They had from him an account of his travels, of Iceland, and of the Eddas. Arendt's external appearance resembled that of a beggar. He usually dined in Goethe's house, and his manners were so unpleasant that he was not generally regretted when he left.¹

Zacharias Werner had come to Weimar again in the end of 1808; he stayed a few months, but attended none of the gatherings for reading aloud. Werner was sinking deeper and deeper in mysticism. This annoyed Goethe. One day, at a pretty large dinner-party at his own house, Goethe declared distinct opposition to this squint religiosity, he would never support it, and would always exclude it from the stage.

After reading the *Nibelungenlied*, the Wednesday assemblies were occupied with the old heroic poems, *Fierabras*, *King Rother*, *Tristan and Isolde*. In the winter of 1809-10, instead of Goethe's Wednesday receptions, there were Wednesday

¹ Riemer (*Mittheilungen*, i. 412-414) gives an amusing account of Arendt's eccentricities and of Goethe's serene politeness.—Tr.

breakfasts in the Princess Caroline's room with the bay-window. Goethe was generally present.

A very great delight of this part of Goethe's life was the little singing concert that took place regularly in his house. The leader of the little company was young Karl Eberwein. Goethe had sent Eberwein to Zelter in February 1809:—"Receive him kindly and help him on with counsel, doctrine, and example."¹ Eberwein came back in the autumn. The rehearsal for each little concert took place on Thursday evening, when a frugal supper was served. The concerts were given on Sunday mornings, a select audience for them being always invited to breakfast. This little company for house-concerts appeared a few times in the theatre; a performance of Goethe's ballad *Johanna Sebus* to Zelter's music was especially successful. But by the beginning of 1811 Fräulein Jagemann had sown discord among the members of the company. Goethe let the winter 1811-12 pass without concerts, and only revived them again in December 1812.

On April 14, 1809, the Duchess held the first of a series of Friday evening gatherings, at which Goethe constantly attended. At these gatherings the beginning of *Die Wahlverwandtschaften*, the tale called *Die neue Melusine*, and parts of *Dichtung und Wahrheit* were read aloud, and were received with ardent pleasure. We must also think of Goethe as frequently present at a ladies' gathering (*Damenkränzchen*), held on Monday mornings, and at Johanna Schopenhauer's evening assemblies.

On February 7, 1812, St. Aignan, Napoleon's accredited representative at all Saxon courts, was introduced at the Court of Weimar. Grave, simple, dignified, of many-sided culture, melancholy, an evident sufferer, he attracted Goethe, who, in spite of the prevalent belief that St. Aignan was a spy, invited

¹ Goethe to Zelter, February 16, 1809.—TR.

him to come on Sunday mornings to his house to examine works of art, and invited for the same occasions the circle of ladies who had honoured the Wednesday morning gatherings with their presence.

During the first two years of the period treated in this chapter Goethe seldom appeared at table at Court. He was probably present at the masquerade given on February 3, 1809. August was the astrologer, Christiane was one of the country-folk, and the verses spoken by August were written by Goethe.¹ On February 2, 1810, a very important masquerade composed by Goethe was acted;² when it was repeated on February 16, 1810, Goethe himself appeared as one of the masks. After October 5, 1810, we find him very frequently at the Court table. At that time the Duke gave him a pair of Polish carriage horses, with the right to free fodder for them, and gave August the title of *Kammerassessor*.

The visits to the Bohemian baths were an immense pleasure to Goethe. At Teplitz in 1810 he made a very interesting acquaintance in Louis, the late King of Holland. "Louis," said Goethe, "is the impersonation of graciousness and affability, as his brother Napoleon of power and force."³ Altogether Goethe was impressed and charmed by the exquisitely unmixcd moral nature of Louis, which was incapable of obeying any guide but its own gentle instincts. In June 1810, a short time before this meeting with Louis, the citizens of Karlsbad as they awaited the arrival of their

¹ See Hempel's *Goethe*, xi. 373-4.—TR.

² *Die romantische Poesie*. See p. 269.—TR.

³ Falk, *Goethe aus näherm persönlichen Umgange dargestellt*, Leipzig, 1832. The account of Goethe's opinion of Louis of Holland is according to Riemer [i. 23] one of the few thoroughly trustworthy parts of Falk's book. See also: Goethe to Knebel, Teplitz, August 30, 1810, and Goethe to Marianne von Willemer, September 9, 1823.—TR.

young Empress,¹ asked the great poet who was staying among them to write a poem of greeting on their behalf, and soon after asked for another poem to inscribe on her drinking glass. Goethe complied with great pleasure, and when a pretty spot in the neighbourhood was named after the Empress, he wrote a third poem. The Empress was charming, and intellectual, and graciously friendly to Goethe. On her departure she asked him to say a good word to all in her name, which he did with exquisite skill.²

Two years later, in July 1812, she came to Karlsbad again, accompanied by the Emperor and his daughter the Empress of the French. Again Goethe, at the request of the citizens, willingly agreed to furnish poetic addresses, though he had not yet quite recovered from an attack of his disorder. And it might well seem difficult to greet and congratulate the Empress of the French side by side with her father. But Goethe solved the difficulty skilfully, by writing a separate poem in which he hailed the daughter of Hapsburg as one who having, as it were, been already a bringer of peace by her mediation, would be so again, since through her influence her husband, who could will all, would now will peace. Beside these two poems he wrote, of his own accord, one that relates to his beloved Empress of Austria, which might be considered an introduction to the two others.³ The Empress, who felt very poorly, went on to Teplitz. Shortly after she indicated to Goethe through Karl August⁴ her wish that he would come to

¹ Marie Louise, the third wife of Franz I. of Austria.—TR.

² The four poems are to be found in Hempel's *Goethe*, ii. 403-408. They are dated: June 6, June 10, June 19, June 22, 1810.—TR.

³ Goethe to Reinhard, September 20, 1812. The three poems will be found in Hempel's *Goethe*, ii. 408-413.—TR.

⁴ See No. 269 in the 1873 Vienna edition of Goethe's Correspondence with Karl August. 1810 is certainly a misdating of this letter, obvious on reading it.—TR.

Teplitz also. He did come thither on July 14, 1812. "In the neighbourhood of the Empress more happiness and good fortune have fallen to me than I deserve. . . . The notion of this extraordinary lady, which in the space of four weeks I have been able to thoroughly form, is a rich gain for my whole life. . . . To have an experience like this near the end of one's days, gives such a pleasant feeling, as though one died at sunrise with the perfect assurance through both inner and outer senses, that Nature is eternally productive, penetrated with Divine vitality to its farthest centre, faithful to its types, subject to no old age."¹ Between Goethe and the Empress there was the most beautiful cordial human relation. He read aloud a good deal in her presence. When *Tasso* was acted, Goethe wrote an epilogue stanza, which puts into the mouth of the Leonora of *Tasso* a short acknowledgment of the incomparable worth of the Empress.² At her wish he composed in two days, on a subject proposed by her, a little comedy³ which was acted by the ladies and gentlemen of her suite.

If the personality of the Empress seemed wonderfully attractive to Goethe, that of the great Beethoven was repellent. Yet he felt that Beethoven's brusqueness and irritability had great excuse in his deafness. "I made the acquaintance of Beethoven in Teplitz. His talent has astonished me, but he is unfortunately an altogether unsubdued personality, who is not wrong, indeed, in finding the world detestable, but in finding it so makes it a better place neither for himself nor for others."⁴ The Master of Sounds prided himself on his bluff

¹ Goethe to Reinhard, Karlsbad, August 14, 1812.—Tr.

² See the lines *Gräfin O'Donel als Eleonore*. Hempel's *Goethe*, ii. 415.—Tr.

³ *Die Wette (The Wager)*. See Riemer, *Mittheilungen über Goethe*, ii. 617, for dates.—Tr.

⁴ Goethe to Zelter, Karlsbad, September 2, 1812.—Tr.

violation of forms of courtesy : thus when he met the Empress he compelled her to make the first salutation ; he thought it right by such means to keep grand people at their distance, so should they learn, that it was not in them to create those great spirits that tower above the common beings of the earth.¹ This theory of action and its blustering exposition could of course but move Goethe to smile.

We now turn to Goethe's official activity. And first the Theatre. Precisely in the affairs of the theatre he had, towards the close of 1808, one of his most bitter experiences. Caroline Jagemann, in confederacy with the bass singer Stromeier, had already brought him many annoyances, and when, in November 1808 the Duke, by his angry treatment of the singer Morhard, regardlessly compromised the commission of the theatre, Goethe asked to be relieved from the management, since his position in Weimar, in other respects desirable and one to be thankful for, was rendered a hell by his connection with the theatre.² The resignation was provisionally accepted, without the Duke's making any attempt at reconciliation. Goethe was glad to be free of a service so unpleasant, in which (beside that he worked with inadequate means) he could no longer hope to do anything for art. Yet at length the Duke felt how great a loss Goethe would be, and how hasty and passionate was his own conduct. Meyer was chosen as mediator, probably at Voigt's suggestion. But Goethe, who saw the affair to be "in truth merely played behind the cloak,"³ insisted that his honour forbade his having anything to do with a merely

¹ See in *Beethoven's Letters*, edited by Nohl, (translated by Lady Wallace), Beethoven to Bettina von Arnim, August 1812.—Tr.

² Goethe to Karl August, November 10, 1808. Reprinted in the Appendix vi. to Otto Jahn's *Goethes Briefe an Christian Gottlob von Voigt*, Hirzel, Leipzig, 1868.—Tr.

³ This is in a short note from Goethe to Voigt, December 11, 1808 See page 522 of Jahn's book.—Tr.

apparent management, he must have the direct influence needful and discipline; he did not want to inconvenience Fräulein Jagemann, who should, as heretofore, act in what parts she liked and when she liked;¹ moreover, if it was desired to separate the Opera from the management, he had no objection. The way in which the Duke carried on the matter after this, with a sort of haughty obliviousness to all that he owed to the greatest poet of the time, and the faithfullest friend to him, affected Goethe very painfully, and at length Voigt had to call the attention of the strangely changed Karl August to the fact that Goethe was growing ill in body and mind through the affair, and Voigt suggested that the Duke should let matters rest for the present.² It was then proposed that Goethe should after Easter submit a design of a Constitution for the Theatre, and should from time to time report by word of mouth on such measures as might be needful for the preservation of the whole. Voigt had sketched the note which the Duke was to address to Goethe. The Duke altered it unfavourably at the conclusion. Goethe had probably seen the first draft, and when the altered note was put before him, he became stubborn again. "It is a very noble thing, doubtless," he said, "to spare others, but on this occasion I have every reason to think of myself."³ Yet he was glad to have the affair tempor-

¹ This is in Voigt's letter to the Duke of November 30, 1808, conveying the results of Meyer's negotiation; the letter ends thus:—"Ueberhaupt sehe er durchaus keine Persönlichkeit, sondern es sey ihm bloss um die Sache zu thun."—Tr.

² This was on December 18, 1808. See *Goethes Briefe an Voigt*, pp. 529-530. It is interesting to note throughout the correspondence what a power Goethe had become in Germany. Kirms and Voigt warn the Duke that if Goethe is dismissed, it will be much talked of everywhere, and the theatre will suffer.—Tr.

³ Goethe to Voigt, December 27, 1808, *Goethes Briefe an Voigt*, p. 532.—Tr.

arily settled : he had at any rate preserved his dignity, and had not swerved by a hair's-breadth from his claim to conduct that part of the manager's business which deals with the æsthetic alone and uncontrolled.

Talma and the French drama had not been without influence on Goethe ; *whatever was good* in the French he would fain introduce in Weimar,¹ and the actor Wolff, who had been a great deal with Talma, strove to adopt these excellences. For the rest, Goethe was more than ever intent on bringing out the most various dramatic forms on the Weimar stage, on founding, as it were, a World Theatre, (this is a counterpart to his endeavour after a World Literature), and in general on furthering ideal dramatic art. But, unfortunately, as hitherto, the means needful for great performance were not. The Opera lay in great measure in the hands of Fräulein Jagemann. (In 1809 this lady was made Baroness von Heygendorf by the Duke, and in 1812, to the general scandal, she took up her abode in the *Palais*, where five years ago the Duchess Amalia had died.) On January 30, 1809, the birthday of the Duchess, the *Antigone* of Sophocles, in the adaptation of Goethe's friend, Friedrich Rochlitz of Leipzig, was acted with very charming effect. The actors were in Greek costume. Wolff, as first leader of the chorus, and Frau Wolff as Antigone, won a great triumph.² To what excellence the art of acting had attained was strikingly manifested by the performance of *Tasso*, February 14, 1810. "It would be tempting Providence," said Goethe, "to desire that the piece should ever be played so well again." On the birthday

¹ Cp. Goethe to Frau von Eybenberg (Marianne Meyer), December 4, 1808.—TR.

² See Goethe to Friedrich Rochlitz, February 1, 1809. Goethe's letters to Rochlitz are collected in Otto Jahn's *Goethe's Briefe an Leipziger Freunde*.—TR.

of the Crown-Princess, Voltaire's *Zaire* was admirably acted. Zacharias Werner's gruesome play, *Der vierundzwanzigste Februar*, followed on February 24, 1810, its own day! Werner had of late been in favour with the Duke and Fräulein Jagemann. *Der vierundzwanzigste Februar* had been written at Goethe's desire that Werner would for once attempt a purely human piece, working by simple effects. The performance was the highest attainable in this style; "the dreadfulness of the material was forgotten in the purity and security of the performance."¹ Goethe confessed to the actors that they had now arrived at the perfection he desired, nature and art were joined as close as was possible. Schiller's memory was worthily honoured on the anniversary of his death by the performance of detached scenes from his pieces, and of the *Lied von der Glocke*, with Goethe's *Epilog*. Goethe had added to the *Epilog* a stanza² to the purport that even those who at an earlier time were unwilling to acknowledge Schiller's greatness, now joined gladly in honouring his name. In September 1810 Iffland came to Weimar for the third time. The playing of the great master of the realistic in acting had as before a stimulating effect on all who saw him. On January 30, 1811, a whole new province, as Goethe says, was conquered for the stage when the Duchess's birthday was celebrated by a performance of Calderon's comedy, *El principe constante* (*The Constant Prince*). Goethe had shunned no pains in the labour which he devoted to the rehearsal of this play; and its performance proved so affecting that Goethe, and Charlotte Schiller, who sat beside him, wept aloud. After this, the Weimar Theatre ventured on the *Pygmalion* of J. J. Rousseau, and the *Saul* of Alfieri.³ In the summer of 1811 the Weimar company

¹ Goethe's *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte*, 1810.—TR.

² The second last as the *Epilog* now stands. Hempel's *Goethe*, xi. 237.—TR.

³ *Saul* in the translation of Knebel.—TR.

played in Halle, the University Church there having been fitted up as a theatre ; and the first performance was opened with a prologue written by Goethe.¹ In 1812 Shakespeare's tragedy of passion, *Romeo and Juliet*, with certain alterations for stage purposes by Goethe, made a deep impression, and notwithstanding many objectors, held its own.² After this came Calderon's remarkable *La vida es sueño* (*Life's a dream*), then some pieces by the young Theodor Körner, who was just becoming known. Goethe gave great care to Körner's plays. Finally the year 1812 closed with a visit from Iffland,³ important both to Weimar audiences and actors. Thus Goethe laboured to elevate the actor's art, and set high aims in view and proscribed all carelessness and laziness that would fain call itself naturalism.

Apart from the Theatre, Goethe's official activity, when not claimed by some special commission of the Duke's, was concentrated on institutions that had to do with Science and Art. The University of Jena had declined sadly, still Goethe did not desist from striving, with clear-thoughted, large judgment, to attain the best that was possible. In the hope of better times, he held it to be his duty to give all his care to the scientific institutions. In the first instance it was planned to refit the first story of the Castle at Jena for museums, yet Goethe purposely lingered in this, fearing that the restored rooms would be taken for military purposes. In 1808 an Osteologic-Zoological Cabinet was founded ; two years later

¹ Dated : Halle, den 6, August 1811. Hempel's *Goethe*, xi. 244.
—TR.

² *Romeo and Juliet* was first acted in Weimar on January 31, 1812.
—TR.

³ This was Iffland's last "*Gastspiel*" in Weimar. There were in all four : one in 1796, one in 1798, one in 1810, and one in 1812. Iffland died in 1814.--TR.

the Mineralogical Cabinet was increased by the purchase of the geological collection of *Bergrath* Voigt;¹ the Anatomical Cabinet was improved. In 1811 the chemical laboratory of Döbereiner, that proved so valuable, was fitted up. In 1812 an Observatory was instituted in the house that had once been Schiller's; and the Cabinet of Physical Science received a permanent strengthening in a subsidy from the Crown-Princess of Weimar. The Drawing Academy of Weimar was brought into close connection with the Library. Goethe's effort to unite all the institutions in Jena and Weimar that had to do with science and art under a single central authority called the Superintendence (*Oberaufsicht*), was not successful.²

During the years treated in this chapter Goethe wrote and published much that was important for literature and science. The Poems of Occasion already mentioned³ may be passed over. *Die Wahlverwandtschaften* was published in the beginning of the period,⁴ a novel remarkable for depth of feeling, wealth of penetrative knowledge of the world and of man, and artistic perfection; a masterpiece of its kind, though it has not escaped manifold misinterpretation. The first two volumes of *Dichtung und Wahrheit* were published during this time.⁵ Viewing all from the lofty vantage of a noble old

¹ This is Johann Karl Wilhelm Voigt of Ilmenau. See on his collection Goethe to C. G. Voigt, January 10, 1810.—TR.

² See the *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte*, 1809, and Goethe to Voigt, July 22, 1809.—TR.

³ See p. 280.—TR.

⁴ We have seen how Goethe began *Die Wahlverwandtschaften* in the summer of 1808 at Karlsbad (p. 258), and how he read aloud the earlier part of it at the Friday evening receptions of the Duchess in the spring of 1809 (p. 278). The interest excited inspired him to resume work on it, and he completed it during the summer of 1809. It went to the printer at the end of July, and on October 3, 1809, he read the last proof sheets of it.—TR.

⁵ The First Part of *Dichtung und Wahrheit* was published in 1811. On October 23, 1812, Goethe sends the Second Part to Knebel.—TR.

age, Goethe's gaze is clear and penetrating, and the perfect art of the presentation makes his youthful days live again with rare vividness. The book did much to bring the great poet near to the hearts of his German people. By the close of 1812 the Third Part had been begun. The early portion of *Wilhelm Meister's Wanderjahre* and of the tale *Das nussbraune Mädchen* that belongs to it were written in the years 1809 and 1810, and were published in Cotta's *Pocket-Book for Ladies*.¹ Further, it must be recorded that during the four years under review there was an abundant blossoming of fresh lyric poetry, song, ballad, and cantata.²

Goethe appeared as a writer on geology during this period, in his essay *Der Kammerberg bei Eger* published³ in Leonhardt's *Taschenbuch für die Mineralogie*. But the world was astonished when the great poet sent forth in two fine volumes with elucidatory tables, his book on light and colour, *Zur Farbenlehre*, the product of twenty years of faithful methodical observation, of infinite industry, a model of happy exposition. The printing of it, begun in 1806, before the battle of Jena, was only finished in May 1810. It is true that science and many important philosophers have rejected Goethe's Theory of Colour, and refused to recognise the correctness of his

¹ Goethe did not return to the *Wanderjahre* after this until 1820.—TR.

² The beautiful dramatic ballad *Johanna Sebus*, founded on a real incident, was written in May 1809. To 1810 belong *Rechenschaft* and *Ergo bibamus* (see the *Gesellige Lieder*), *Katzenpastete* (a satire on Newton, see *Parabolisch*), the erotic poem, *Das Tagebuch* (not yet included in Goethe's *Works*, published first in separate form in 1861, 3d edition, 1868, Berlin), and the well-known *Genialisch Treiben* ("So wälz' ich ohne Unterlass, Wie Sankt Diogenes mein Fass"). In 1811 was written the cantata *Rinaldo*. In 1812 the lovely *Mailed* ("Zwischen Weizen und Korn, Zwischen Hecken und Dorn"). See, for further information, Düntzer, *Goethe's lyrische Gedichte erläutert*, i. 303-313.—TR.

³ In 1809.—TR.

tenets in physics, still by the first part (*Physiologische Farben*) he is the founder of a new science, Physiological Optics, a fact generally recognised even among his contemporaries, and as for the *History of the Theory of Colour*, opponents of the speculative part of Goethe's work praise it as a masterpiece. Further, many isolated fine observations have a permanent value, and in the skill of arrangement and of exposition this noble book remains unsurpassed. The opposition which his theory encountered brought him many bad hours ; still in his belief that he had found the one true and fruitful conception of the matter, in his purpose to faithfully and steadfastly work on in that conception, he found an aid to rising superior to that opposition ; and he never repented having given so much time to this important part of Natural Science. But it was a real pity that the mistrust of Goethe as a man of science evoked by the *Farbenlehre* operated against his theories of organic structure which were published afterwards, and prevented for a long time their receiving the recognition they deserved.

Study of the other branches of Natural Science had slackened during this period. Schelling's acute book, *Memorial on the Work: "Concerning Divine Things,"* was called forth by an essay *Concerning Divine Things and their Manifestation*, in which Jacobi attacked the Identity system of the Nature Philosophy. In Schelling's book Goethe found his own philosophy of Nature reasoned out and supplied with a firm basis. He was "terrified and troubled" on Jacobi's account (Jacobi was absolutely crushed by Schelling), but he was "edified" also.¹ "On the whole gratitude is due to Jacobi, since he has called Schelling forth from his stronghold. For me his work is of the greatest significance, because Schelling has never spoken so plainly before ; and for me

¹ Goethe to Knebel, March 25, 1812.—TR.

precisely in my present every minute's acting and thinking, it is important to see with thorough clearness into the *statum controversiae* between the "Nature" men and the "Freedom" men, that according to the measure of this insight I may pursue my activity in various departments."¹ To Jacobi, whose abuse of the Nature Philosophy had made Goethe feel very bitter, he wrote:—"I for my part, with the manifold tendencies of my being, do not find *one* mode of thinking sufficient; as a poet and artist I am a Polytheist; on the contrary, as a searcher into Nature I am a Pantheist, and one as distinctly as the other; if I have need of a God for my personality, as a moral human being, that has been provided for also."²

Nor did Goethe's interest in ancient and modern art flag during these four years; only a little on the subject, however, was published. Many a matter was discussed and arranged with Heinrich Meyer. Several important painters, such as Friedrich, Kaaz, Kügelgen, and Runge,³ entered into communication with him. Tischbein, who had drawn near to Goethe in 1806 again, had soon after relapsed into silence.⁴

¹ Goethe to Knebel, April 8, 1812.—Tr.

² Goethe to Jacobi, January 6, 1813. (See also Goethe to Jacobi, May 10, 1812).—Tr.

³ Kaspar David Friedrich (1774-1840) sent drawings to Weimar in 1808; Karl Friedrich Kaaz (1776-1810) was in Weimar in 1809, (and see page 260); Franz Gerhard von Kügelgen (1772-1820) came in December 1808 to Weimar, painted a portrait of Goethe, left Weimar in February 1809; Philipp Otto Runge (1777-1810).—Tr.

⁴ Goethe's opinion of Tischbein's character had changed very much even before he left Italy. And what may on the whole be regarded as his final judgment of Tischbein will be found in his letter to Herder of March 2, 1789:—"With all his good qualities, Tischbein is a queer animal, a sort of hare-brain (*Hasenfuss*), lazy, unreliable, since the Italians have taught him to dabble in the *métier* of falseness, word-breaking and contract-breaking. . . . He thinks that he is of subtle discern-

The Dresden Gallery attracted Goethe repeatedly. Moreover we find him during this period again trying his skill in landscape-sketching.

A very important friendship was that with Sulpiz Boisserée. Boisserée, the son of a wealthy merchant of Köln, was born in 1783. With his brother Melchior, his junior by almost three years, he had collected a large number of old German pictures, which the spoliation of churches and monasteries, and the ruin of families, had dispersed ; and further had applied himself to the minutest study of the Cathedral of Köln as the most perfect product of Gothic Art.¹ He had a number of drawings of the Cathedral prepared with the purpose of publishing a description and history of it. He sent a selection from these drawings to Goethe in 1810. (The introduction had been brought about by Reinhard.) Fully as Goethe recognised the value of the drawings, he regarded Boisserée's extraordinary admiration of the Gothic as a mistake, and in Boisserée's endeavour to win him for the cause, he only saw prudent calculation of ways and means. He did not hold out hope of aid in the matter.² Yet Boisserée visited Goethe in May

ment, and is only paltry ; he thinks that he can intrigue, and the most he can do is confuse people." For an account of the relation between Goethe and Tischbein, see Düntzer's *Aus Goethe's Freundeskreise* (Braunschweig, 1868), pp. 215-253.—Tr.

¹ Boisserée was brought near to the Romantic School by the friendship of Friedrich Schlegel (who left Köln in 1808). In March 1810 Boisserée and his brother went to live in Heidelberg. The influence of Friedrich Schlegel would of course tend to make Boisserée averse to the "heathen" Goethe. But this found an ample counterbalance in the influence of a very remarkable friend called Bertram. I think that the reader will find great pleasure in an estimate of Goethe in Bertram's letter to Boisserée, July 15, 1811 (*Sulpiz Boisserée*, i. 142-3).—Tr.

² See Goethe to Reinhard, Jena, May 14, 1810, and : Karlsbad, July 22, 1810.—Tr.

1811, intent with all the force of conviction on winning him to his side. Goethe soon saw that his visitor really had the matter at heart, and was no empty-headed visionary; and he was the more easily gained over by all that Boisserée had to tell of Low German Art, since the young fellow was careful to show himself just to Greek Art.¹ He invited Boisserée to come and dine next day (May 4), and they were soon good friends. Boisserée thought that already he had persuaded the old gentleman over to his views—he did not know how far he was from penetration into Goethe's real mind. He did not know that the signs of emotion, which he took for signs of conviction, were the expression of Goethe's delight in his own thorough worth, in his fresh enthusiastic youthful personality,² and that Goethe continued to hold Gothic architecture simply as a stage in development necessary at its time and in its place, but not to be compared with the perfectness of the architecture of the Greeks. Still Goethe promised to publicly commend Boisserée's costly enterprise, only not in a daily paper. He acknowledged freely that he was in accord with the general tendency of Boisserée's mind, and that Boisserée's special study was one that he loved and cared to learn about from others, since he was prevented by circumstance from occupying himself with it directly.

But Boisserée felt hurt when a year passed by and Goethe's promise to commend the design of publishing plans of the Cathedral seemed forgotten. How joyfully surprised was he

¹ The account in Boisserée's Letters to his brother (May 1811) of Goethe's coldness at first, and of his gradual thaw, is very interesting. See the very important volumes called *Sulpiz Boisserée* (Stuttgart, 1862). Volume i. contains Boisserée's fragment of an autobiography, his diaries, and his correspondence with all his friends except Goethe. Volume ii. contains his correspondence with Goethe.—TR.

² See Düntzer's essay on Goethe's relation to Sulpiz Boisserée, *Aus Goethe's Freundeskreise*, 304-5.—TR.

then, in the autumn of 1812, when he found that in the second part of *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, Goethe, after describing his own youthful endeavours to comprehend Strassburg Cathedral, had thus written;—"Here I must single out for praise the admirable Sulpiz Boisserée, who with unwearied zeal labours to exhibit the Cathedral of Köln, in a splendid series of engravings, as the highest example of those mighty conceptions whose intention, Babel-like, would soar into the heavens, and which were so much beyond earthly powers that of necessity they stood still in their execution." And a little farther on Goethe expresses a hope that "our active young friend" will not content himself with the monograph on the Cathedral, but will follow out the history of the architecture of the Middle Ages in Germany in detail. Thus Goethe had been won to a full acknowledgment of the nobleness of Gothic Art, when the burning of Moscow turned the world's goings on into new paths.

CHAPTER IV.

THE LIBERATION OF GERMANY.

DECEMBER 1812—JULY 1814.

ON December 15, 1812, the flying sleigh bore Napoleon fast through Weimar, so fast that his ambassador St. Aignan only overtook him at Erfurt. St. Aignan brought to Goethe friendly greeting from the "Emperor of the Night," as Karl August called Napoleon. Karl August had long nourished hatred for the French oppressor in secret. Accordingly he had summoned von Müffling as District Vice-President to Weimar,¹ which became the central point of schemes for the freeing of Germany. Of these schemes Goethe and Voigt knew nothing, for they did not believe that any good could come of opposing Napoleon. Painful as the suspense was with which Goethe now looked to the development of events, he did his best to drive away gloomy thoughts, and to mould a cheerful daily home life. Fräulein Engels, of Berlin, who had belonged to Weimar Theatre since 1805, a particular friend of Christiane's, now frequently gave Goethe great pleasure by singing while at table to the guitar. On the evening after Twelfth Night (January 7, 1813) there was again² a con-

¹ This was in 1809. On Müffling, see Otto Jahn's Introduction to *Goethes Briefe an Voigt*, 95-97.—TR.

² It will be remembered that the concerts had been discontinued. See p. 278.—TR.

cert at his house, and at this concert his *Song of the Three Kings*¹ was sung to Zelter's music. Next day Goethe dined at Court, as already he had, four days before. Immediately after he had a fit of illness, from the consequences of which he suffered for a long time. Still ill-health did not prevent him from devoting himself with great interest to the Theatre, especially to the approaching Court festivities. For precisely in such gloomy times it was needful to maintain a deliberate cheerfulness!

On January 20, 1813, a heavy blow in his ailing condition fell upon him in the death of the good old Wieland, who succumbed beneath repeated strokes of paralysis. Goethe was not fit to attend the funeral, and he sent August in his place. We find him seeking comfort in his old friend Charlotte von Stein, as he had done after the death of Schiller. Yet he soon roused himself, and in spite of bodily suffering turned to fresh labours. He composed an idyll² for the festivities of the evening of the Duchess's birthday, January 30, 1813, and the address *In Memory of Wieland* belongs to this period. It was Goethe who conducted the festivities on the birthday of the Crown-Princess. The Princess was at the time full of painful anxiety: for her brother, the Czar, had advanced into Germany, and was plainly determined on driving Napoleon to bay. Goethe was the more ardent in making the celebration of her birthday a brilliant one. Tableaux after pictures were presented, and the fourth tableau, a representation of Arcadia, with nymphs and fauns and river-gods, and Apollo and the Muses, was designed by Goethe himself.³ Although he had been ill in bed only a

¹ See vol. i. p. 396.—TR.

² See the cantata called *Idylle*; Hempel's *Goethe*, ii. 310.—TR.

³ Goethe to Heinrich Meyer, February 9, 1813.—TR.

short time before, he was present at the chief rehearsal of these tableaux, and at their representation on February 16, 1813. Two days later Goethe delivered in a very impressive way the address *In Memory of Wieland* at the Lodge of Mourning (*Trauerloge*). At the beginning of February 1813 the Duke appointed August to be Court Page in the suite of the Crown-Prince; the appointment seems to have given Goethe a good deal of pleasure.¹

During the end of February and the beginning of March, 1813, the dreary remnants of the Grand Army moving homewards from Russia brought contagious disorders into Weimar. All the signs of the time indicated a new fearful war, and poor Weimar would suffer again as in the "Jena" days seven years ago! Meanwhile Goethe was daily thinking over the Third Part of his *Dichtung und Wahrheit*.² It was his hope to complete it in the coming summer. But the aspect of things grew more and more threatening; the confusion of the relations of princes and states was great; friends were dreaded as much as foes. The Crown-Princess fled from Weimar on April 7, 1813. Five days later a flying party of Prussian horse entered Weimar, and made prisoners of the Weimar Contingent. The continual excitement told badly on Goethe, and he grew so feverish and wretched that his family urged him to start for Teplitz without leave-taking.³ Christiane came to Charlotte von Stein to say farewell in his name.

Shortly before this it had become necessary to decide on closing the mines at Ilmenau altogether. Goethe was deeply moved to think that such an expenditure of strength, time, and money had brought no fruit! But he recollected

¹ See his letter of thanks to the Duke, February 6, 1813.—TR.

² Goethe to Knebel, March 10, 1813.—TR.

³ He left Weimar on April 17, 1813.—TR.

with gratitude what a good influence on his life working in conjunction with Voigt had been.¹

An old Prussian pass enabled Goethe to procure right of way through the disturbed country for himself and his secretary John. In Meissen he met a company of Black Jägers on the march to Leipzig. Among them was the author of *Undine*, a tale of which Goethe had a very high opinion. Goethe was muffled in a Russian general's cloak, with a red collar, and had a military cap pressed down deep over his face, yet Fouqué knew him. How he greeted Goethe with a military salute, how the company presented arms and cried: "Long live Goethe, the poet of poets!" how, finally, Goethe pronounced upon their cutlasses and muskets the blessing they craved, Fouqué himself has told us. In Dresden Goethe saw the entry of the King of Prussia and the Czar, but at the same time heard that on April 18 the French had driven the Prussian hussars out of Weimar. In the Dresden Gallery he found much to interest him, though what was best had been removed for safety. At the house of Körner, whose son had joined Lützow's volunteers, he met the great statesman Stein and his friend Arndt. Their sure hope of victory roused Goethe to vigorous expression of disbelief in it. "Ay, you may shake your chains! the man is too great for you! you will not burst them, but urge them deeper into your flesh!" On April 26, 1813, he arrived in Teplitz, where he met the Crown-Princess.

From Teplitz Goethe writes, six weeks later, June 11, 1813, to Fritz Schlosser: "On May 6 relieved as to the fate of Weimar. Then the war drew near to us. Some said they heard the thunder of cannon, but all saw the fiery sign by night among the clouds. Russian and Prussian wounded

¹ Goethe to Voigt, April 11, 1813. It will be remembered that in 1798 mining had been given up, the shafts and drifts only being still kept open. See p. 167.—TR.

confirmed the occurrences. . . . New fugitives arriving set all in commotion ; many of the former ones went away farther into the country ; and in addition to all this external trouble, the inner trouble of party-feeling !"¹

The armistice of June 4, 1813, opened free way for communication with Weimar. To Zelter Goethe writes from Teplitz, June 23, 1813 : " My dear ones are well, and bear up resolutely through it all. I am well, and can work. What more do I desire ? " (Since, in November 1812, Zelter had written a pathetic account of the suicide of his promising eldest son to Goethe, the latter had addressed his friend with the brotherly *Du*, which not even Heinrich Meyer or Schiller had drawn from him.) He found an especially delightful refuge from the noise and troubles of the time in the portrayal of his own past life.² In the early part of this summer stay in Teplitz, Goethe even wrote some ballads ;³ such work lightened the burthen of the time. It was a great inconvenience when, in the middle of his work, his secretary John became ill. Karl August came to Teplitz at the end of June 1813 ; from him Goethe learned many things about the political situation that by no means tended to quiet his fears. His studies of natural science did not remain fruitless. An excursion, attended with some danger, to Zinnwalde and Altenberg, yielded him the greatest profit.⁴

¹ See Frese's *Goethe-Briefe aus Fritz Schlosser's Nachlass*, p. 51.—TR.

² He mentions to Zelter, in the letter already quoted, that he is working on the Third Part of *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, and that he hopes to have it published by Michaelmas 1813.—TR.

³ *Die wandelnde Glocke ; Der getreue Eckart ; Der Todtentanz*, all sent to Riemer on June 6, 1813. (Düntzer notes that " Juli, " Riemer's *Mittheilungen*, ii. 548, is a printer's error for " Juni. ")—TR.

⁴ Goethe has written an especial account of this excursion, which occupied three days, the 10th, 11th, and 12th of July, 1813. See Hempel's *Goethe*, xxxiii. 357 : *Ausflug nach Zinnwald und Altenberg*.—TR.

Austria having declared war against France, Goethe left Teplitz, where, during the latter part of his stay, in great quiet, he had brought the Third Part of *Dichtung und Wahrheit* to a close. In Dresden he "spent extremely stirring and tempestuous days."¹ In Weimar he found his family well. Thence, in the latter part of August, he went to join the Duke in Ilmenau, where he had not been since 1796. He spent seven happy days there in gracious memories of the old time, which was now so distant that only what was actually fruitful in it remained for the imagination.² His birthday was merrily celebrated at Ilmenau. During the stay Geology resumed its old fascinating power.

The victories of Blücher at the Katzbach, and of the allies at Kulm, roused the hopes of the Germans; but Goethe considered the issue of the war still doubtful. And then, even the victory of Germans, (in alliance with Cossacks and Baschkirs!), might bring great trouble to Weimar by driving the conquered French through the city on their retreat. However, sometimes a cheery mood set in, such as that in which he composed the gay, bright verses *Offene Tafel*,³ now to be found in his *Gesellige Lieder*. His chief preoccupation was with Geology, particularly with his collection of tin-formations. But the theatre made its demands also; thus, on the very days of the battle of Leipzig, at the wish of the actress Frau Wolff, he wrote for the *Essex* of Banks and Dyk a noble

¹ Goethe to Fritz Schlosser, Weimar, September 5, 1813.—"Bis den 18ten August verlebte ich ruhige Tage in Teplitz, dann sehr lebhafte und stürmische in Dresden, und befinde mich seit dem 19ten hier." "18ten August" is plainly a misprint for "13ten August" or "10ten August." See Goethe's lines to Peucer, dated Dresden, August 15, 1813.—TR.

² Goethe to Knebel, September (5), 1813. We shall find Goethe visiting Ilmenau only once more, in August 1831.—TR.

³ *Offene Tafel* was dictated to Fräulein Ulrich on October 12, 1813. Düntzer, *Goethes lyrische Gedichte*, ii. 209.—TR.

epilogue, in which there is a passage that might seem to indicate the fall of Napoleon.¹

The 21st of October 1813 was a day of terror for Weimar. Not only did the little city suffer by the conflict between the Allies and the French rear-guard, and by the cannons of the French, but her very deliverers plundered her. Goethe did not escape threats.² But the many interesting acquaintances that he made in the following days, (among them were Metternich and his own Leipzig fellow-student Hardenberg), were considered by him ample amends for whatever misfortune befell him.

Amid the confusion and distraction of the time, he took refuge in the study of China and her affairs. In this he was very much aided by the presence in Weimar of the Orientalist, *Hofrath* Julius Klaproth.³ Moreover, he found solace in arranging his works of art, especially the engravings. He began to distribute them in various schools, and to unite the collections of different times.⁴ In the revision of the Third Part of *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, he was supported by Riemer, whom he would gladly have had an inmate of his house

¹ The lines :—

“ Der Mensch erfährt, er sei auch, wer er mag,
Ein letztes Glück und einen letzten Tag.”

Goethe put this version of Ovid's *Nemo ante obitum beatus* among his poems in 1815 [see Hempel's *Goethe*, ii. 328]; and in 1824, in speaking of Rochlitz's *Diary of the Battle of Leipzig*, he calls attention to the strange fact that these lines were written during that battle [Forty Volume Edition of Goethe's *Works*, xxxii. 337].—*Strehlke's note in Hempel's Goethe*, xi. 251. (See also Goethe to Knebel, November 4, 1813; Goethe to W. von Humboldt, November 4, 1813.)—TR.

² See in Goethe's *Briefwechsel mit Knebel* the interesting account of Goethe's troubles with the Cossacks, quoted from Heinke.—TR.

³ See Goethe to Knebel, November 10, 1813.—TR.

⁴ Goethe to Knebel, November 13, 1813. “It is opium for the present times,” he said to Luise Seidler. See p. 98 of her *Recollections*, the editor's footnote.—TR.

again. Weimar continued to suffer very much by the war. It was fixed on as the situation of two head lazareths, and it was the centre to which all companies of recruits were sent, thence to be distributed to their permanent regiments. Every one expected to see the Duke soon go over to the Allies openly. On November 13, 1813, *Essex* was acted. Eight days later there was a concert at Goethe's house again.

Meanwhile, enthusiasm for the sacred cause of Fatherland had moved a number of men, older and younger, to join in the war of liberation as volunteers. Among them was Kieser, the Professor Extraordinary of Medicine at Jena. "I have been at Goethe's house for half an hour," writes Kieser, on November 24; "he spoke well (*brav*); wished that I would stay in Weimar, instead of going with the army."¹ Goethe and Voigt were of opinion that officials could do greater service by remaining at their posts than by joining in the war; and in Weimar medical help was sadly needed to deal with the malignant nervous fevers that prevailed. On November 26, 1813, Kieser supped with Goethe, and in a two hours' conversation discussed the world's affairs; they agreed in thinking that France, in a conflict with England, must be beaten, because the sea was more living and mighty than the rigid land. That Goethe was deeply moved by the great ideas, Freedom, People, Fatherland, and that he was firmly convinced that Germany had a great future, is proved by the well-known conversation with Luden.² August Goethe had not as yet subscribed among the volunteers; his father's

¹ The letters of Kieser to Luise Seidler will be found in the book already referred to, *Erinnerungen und Leben der Malerin Louise Seidler*, Berlin, 1875.—Tr.

² In November 1813, Luden wishing to start a periodical, opposed to Napoleon and the French, to be called *Nemesis*, went to Goethe. Goethe endeavoured to dissuade him. Luden, *Rückblicke in mein Leben*, Jena, 1847. (Cp. Goethe's defence, Eckermann, March 14, 1830.)—Tr.

opposition made him hesitate. Meanwhile, the Duke had left the Confederation of the Rhine, and issued an appeal to volunteers.

Goethe continued his effort to bear up bravely during the dreaded December weather. We find him writing a couple of satiric poems¹ and detached *Spruchverse*; and looking up unprinted poems among his papers, since at Easter 1814 he would have the right to publish a new edition of his works. On the Duchess's Friday evenings he read aloud from the Third Part of *Dichtung und Wahrheit*. (He appeared twice at the Duchess's table, and on December 18, 1813, at that of the Duke, who was just back from Frankfurt.) No distractions, however, could prevent a painful agitation that arose from the enormous tension of expectation, and his fear that the Allies would fail. On the evening of December 12, 1813, Kieser found him in strange excitement. "In the closest confidence he communicated *great plans* to me, and called on me for co-operation. . . . I never saw him so fearfully agitated, violent, wrathful; his eye glowed, often words failed him, and then his countenance swelled, and the eyes glowed, and the whole gesticulation had to make up for the word that was wanting. I understood his words and his plans, but not himself. . . . He talked about his life, his deeds, his worth, with a frankness and distinctness that I did not understand. Was it that the great plan, which I can only tell you of by word of mouth, took such a hold upon him? Then I must esteem him still more, and honour his trust in me." It is probable that Goethe had for the moment been seized with the thought of persuading Napoleon, with whom he stood so well, to confine his pretensions to France before the Allies crossed the Rhine.

¹ *Regen und Regenbogen*, (the third of the *Drei Palinodien*), and *Pfaffenspiel*.—See the division *Parabolisch* in Goethe's Poems.—TR.

Another very serious conversation about Napoleon is recorded by Friedrich Rochlitz, who, at this time, for three weeks, enjoyed the friendliest intercourse with Goethe. At the end of the conversation, Rochlitz, much affected, exclaimed : "There, I think that is enough for to-day. Only let us not omit to give God the honour, and acknowledge his moral government of the world." They had been walking up and down talking. Goethe suddenly stopped and said solemnly :—"Acknowledge it ! who can help acknowledging it ? But I for my part in silence !" "In silence ? why in silence ?" asked Rochlitz. Goethe replied, "Who can express it save for himself ? For others who ? And when one knows that one cannot utter it, it is not permissible." ¹

August now reported himself as a volunteer. His father hoped that the Duke, knowing how deep was his anxious dread on behalf of his only son, would prevent August from going to the war. The Duke made August the companion of *Kammerrath* Rühlmann, who was going to head-quarters in Frankfurt on commissariat business. But this did not suffice to calm Goethe. "All my wishes would be fulfilled if it lay in his Serene Highness's plan to keep him for the future in the career on which he has entered, and which is thoroughly suitable to his nature and peculiarities, in order that, sooner or later, he may count himself one of those physicians who are called to heal the wounds inflicted by the war. At the same time he would have it in his power to be helpful to me in the little circle of my home and affairs, where a hereditary familiar assistance is needed, since the endeavour to appropriate others to that end is not always successful," ² and

¹ Rochlitz gave an account of this conversation in the *Jahrbücher der Literatur*, Band 60. His account is quoted in Biedermann's *Goethe in Leipzig*. Rochlitz's stay in Weimar ended on December 21, 1813.—Tr.

² This is an allusion to Riemer and John.—Tr.

one is left anew unprovided."¹ The petition, (which he communicated on December 30, 1813, to Voigt also), betrays a spirit untuned by painful agitation. On the following evening Kieser supped at Goethe's; "He was very low spirited, soft,² as he said, and did not come to table."

The combat with this strong agitation was bravely continued during the early part of the year of final deliverance, 1814. On January 7, 1814, we find Goethe at table at Court. After this the Duke, as Commander-in-Chief of the Saxon Army, went to the Netherlands. At this time Kieser was frequently at Goethe's house, one of the servants there having taken the nervous fever. "The condition of our Goethe does not at all please me," writes Kieser on January 18, 1814. "Yesterday evening he was again so excitable, so serious, so soft, that I was dreadfully anxious. He was gathering all his old engravings together for the sake of occupation, is very cheerful, but after such a peculiar fashion! I fear very much for his life." Yet Goethe dined several times at Court, once upon the arrival of the Empress of Russia, on January 28, and again on the birthday of the Duchess, to whom he dedicated a little poem of congratulation. So too he wrote a very good concluding scene³ for *Wallensteins Lager*, which was given as a farewell piece before the *Jäger* volunteers marched out of Weimar to join the war.⁴

We find Goethe at this time bitterly annoyed by the insidious intrusion of an empty mysticism⁵ into life and litera-

¹ See Goethe's *Briefe an Voigt*, 308-9.—TR.

² "*Weich.*"—TR.

³ Hempel's *Goethe*, xi. 207-9.—TR.

⁴ Herr Düntzer thinks that there must have been two "marches out" of volunteers from Weimar in January 1814, one on January 11, the other on January 31. See Goethe to Knebel, January 12, 1814, and Kieser to Luise Seidler, January 31, 1814.—TR.

⁵ Goethe to Knebel, January 19, 1814.—TR.

ture. Poetry as poetry he thought would have no success for a long time, since men only craved the effects due to the *material* of literature. At this time he seems to have begun to pay more attention to von Hammer's translation of the *Divan* of the Persian poet Hafis, which had come into his hands in the spring of 1813; he was glad to fly to the refuge of this strange world, so strange—and yet so like as a scene of political turmoil. In February he had to go to table at Court frequently. He began to feel calmer. On February 14 he wrote the cheerful verses *Kriegsglück*. The Jena institutions continually claimed his attention.

Meanwhile August had come back from Frankfurt, where he had proved very useful. In March 1814 great anxiety was caused by the news of the temporary retreat to which the wonderful generalship of Napoleon compelled the Allies. The return of harsh wintry weather now leads Goethe back again "to the indoors of house and of mind."¹ He was already far on with the Fourth Part of *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, but the account of the breaking off with Lili seemed a delicate matter to treat while she still lived, and accordingly he stayed his advance and leaped over immediately to the Italian journey, and completed the account of it as far as Venice.² The new edition of his *Works* also occupied him. Goethe was at this time looking forward with much interest to the arrival of *Hofrath* Sartorius of Göttingen, whose political judgment he valued extremely. Sartorius, at the wish of the Princess Katharina, had been putting together his thoughts on a new constitution for the Empire.

When on April 9, 1814, word came that the Allies had entered Paris, and all Weimar broke forth in rejoicing, Goethe was suffering from violent rheumatic attacks which prevented

¹ Goethe to Knebel, March 9, 1814.—TR.

² Goethe to Knebel, March 30, 1814.—TR.

him from leaving the house. He felt the reorganisation of the Empire on a durable basis to be of immense importance; he was oppressed with anxiety lest the union of the victorious powers should not last; and he foresaw what a measureless demand for freedom would now be made by the friends of the People which had hurled itself into the war with such enthusiasm. On the morning of April 15, 1814, news came that Napoleon had abdicated. By this time Goethe was enjoying the presence of Sartorius, with whom he earnestly discussed the future of Germany. He avoided all other political discussion, and accordingly seemed cold in the midst of the glad excitement of those days. But from him not a whit less than from others a heavy burthen had been lifted, anxious as he felt concerning the future development of affairs.

Lying on the Ilm a few miles above Weimar is the little town of Berka. The sulphur spa there had been rising into repute; indeed, Goethe took much interest in it, and did his best to make it known as a health resort. Early in the spring of 1814 he had proposed to himself to try whether the sulphur of Berka would not be good for the rheumatism that tormented him. But it was not until May 13, 1814, that he could get away from Weimar to take up quarters in the top story of the so-called *Edelhof*. In the beginning of this stay he was occupied with a fore-piece for the opening of the summer performances of this year at Halle. The good physician, Professor Reil, who had done a great deal for the baths and theatre of Halle, had fallen a victim to the hospital fever during the past winter. Goethe meant that his fore-piece should not only serve to introduce his company at Halle, but should be a memorial to the good physician. On May 17, 1814, a proposal came from Iffland that Goethe should write for the Berlin stage a fore-piece to celebrate the return of the King of Prussia, who was expected to enter Berlin with the

Czar in about four weeks. At first Goethe thought the interval too short for any composition worthy of the occasion,¹ but next day² a suitable conception occurred to him. On May 24, 1814, he sent to Iffland the programme of *Des Epimenides Erwachen*. The sleep of Epimenides was to symbolise Goethe's own aloofness from the great cause of Fatherland, the result of want of faith in the miraculous power that resides in an enthusiastic outbreak of patriotic feeling. The passionate, rapid composition of the piece must be ascribed to the desire that Goethe felt to expiate his fault so far as penitent confession might, not to any ambition for the honour of celebrating the triumph of the Prussian capital.

Just at this time Goethe was rendered very anxious by an affair of honour between August and *Rittmeister* von Werthern. A good friend interposed. Privy Councillor von Müller, who during the late troubled times had become so important a person for Weimar, and who in 1808 was admitted to warm, friendly intercourse with Goethe, came to visit him at Whitsuntide, and found him in great distress about the impending duel. Müller at his wish undertook to compose the affair, and succeeded.³

On receiving word from Iffland that the Berlin fore-piece must be performed between July 20 and 24, 1814, Goethe set Riemer to work to complete the fore-piece for Halle, and laboured with such zeal on the other that, although he had a

¹ Goethe to Kirms, May 18, 1814.—TR.

² Goethe to Kirms, "May 20," 1814. See Goethe's letters to Kirms, reprinted in the *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, ii. 274-5. The letter is misdated "May 20;" it should be "May 19." Professor Düntzer calls attention to the words "*gestrigen Briefes*," which prove this clearly.—TR.

³ Müller came to Berka on Saturday evening, May 28, 1814, and spent Whit-Sunday with Goethe and Riemer. In the forenoon of Monday, Müller went to Weimar, and was able to return in time for dinner with the good news. *Goethes Unterhaltungen mit Müller*, Stuttgart, 1870.—TR.

cheery ten-days' visit from his friend F. A. Wolf, he was able to send off the whole piece on June 15, 1814, with only a few gaps, that could be easily filled. This done, he at last felt perfectly free, and full of new life. This happier mood found expression in blithe poems;¹ even some of the earlier *Divan* lyrics, in imitation of Hafis, being written at this time. He had a visit from Zelter, who met at his lodgings the Berlin *Capellmeister* Weber, sent by Iffland to discuss more carefully various passages of *Epimenides*. Goethe was wishing at this time to go to Wiesbaden for the summer,² but his doctors advised the Bohemian baths. He returned to Weimar in Zelter's companionship.

Weimar was looking forward to the coming of Karl August; she was preparing to deck herself after the gayest fashion to welcome him. Goethe went from street to street, measuring and reckoning, advising and instructing, encouraging and praising, or humorously scolding. He meant that Karl August should have a literary welcome, and he collected a number of poems by Weimar and Jena friends, under the title *Willkommen*;³ several poems of his own were added. But the nosegays and garlands withered; the much-desired one came not, but went to the Aachen baths. And, notwithstanding his doctors, Goethe now resisted no longer the strong impulse that urged him to the banks of the river of the Germans. There, in his native air, among his own people, he trusted to find healing virtue, though in his native city, now again restored to her old freedom, the loving gladness of his good mother would welcome him no more.

¹ *Die Weisen und die Leute, Vergebliche Mühe*, are two written at this time. The first *Divan* lyric, "Hans Adam war ein Erdenkloss," was written at Berka, June 21, 1814.—See Düntzer's *Goethes lyrische Gedichte*, i. 324, and Düntzer, *Goethes Westöstlicher Divan*, 22.—TR.

² See his letter to Fritz Schlosser, Berka, June 20, 1814.—TR.

³ See Goethe's letter to Knebel, Weimar, July 9, 1814.—TR.

BOOK IX.

NEW LIFE

1814—1823

CHAPTER I.

THE RHINE AND MAIN JOURNEYS—MARIANNE WILLEMER—
THE *WESTÖSTLICHER DIVAN*.

JULY 1814—MAY 1816.

ON July 25, 1814, Goethe, accompanied by a servant, started for the Rhine. The journey that followed is remarkable for its wealth of song. In the night of July 27¹ he arrived in Frankfurt. Goethe thought the city much altered since he had last seen it, seventeen years ago.² He alighted in the inn, and wandered through the streets alone, without visiting any of his friends or relatives.³ The drive to Wiesbaden on the warm night of July 29, 1814, has its monument in the beautiful poem *All-Leben*.⁴ In Wiesbaden Goethe found his friend Zelter, who had been there since July 12. In delightful

¹ Düntzer corrects the misprint "dem 25sten" in Goethe's *Resumé* of the journey. The *Resumé* will be found reprinted in Bernays' edition of Goethe's letters to Friedrich August Wolf.—TR.

² He had seen Frankfurt last on August 25, 1797, see p. 156. The change that Goethe perceived was for the better. It will be remembered how he had in former years lamented the decline of Frankfurt. See the footnote, vol. i. p. 4.—TR.

³ In the two days that followed he saw only some of them. See Goethe to Fritz Schlosser, Wiesbaden, August 1, 1814.—TR.

⁴ *Westöstlicher Divan* (Loeper's edition), i. 16, "Staub ist eins der Elemente." Hempel's *Goethe*, iv. 23.—TR.

weather, in the society of old and new friends, he began to use the "cure" after the most regular and careful fashion. He only interrupted it on Sundays, to spend the day in Biberich with the Duke of Nassau-Usingen. One of his new friends was the eminent mineralogist, *Oberberggrath* Cramer of Wiesbaden.

Not long after Goethe's arrival in Wiesbaden,¹ Zelter handed to him a letter from *Staatsrath* Schultz of Berlin, a man who had long been his sincere admirer. In June 1814 Goethe had given to Zelter a copy of the *Propyläen* to send to Schultz, and the letter now received was in the first instance one of thanks for this gift. But Schultz went on to tell how great was his interest in Goethe's *Theory of Colour*, and how he had been studying and making experiments, with the purpose of developing that part of the theory which deals with the physiology of colour. This was the beginning of an interesting friendship, though letters between Goethe and Schultz did not become frequent until the year 1816.

On August 16, 1814, Goethe, Zelter, and Cramer went to see the festival of St. Rochus at Bingen, which had been suppressed during the French occupation. Goethe has written an interesting account of the festival; one feels reminded of his pilgrimage to the *Odilienberg* in the old Strassburg days. On August 22, 1814, Karl August, who, it will be remembered, had gone to Aachen for the baths, arrived in Mainz on his return journey. Goethe went to Mainz to meet him, and then went with him to visit the minister Stein in Nassau; and then, with Wiesbaden as centre, the two made excursions to Schlangenbad and other places. August 28, 1814, Goethe's

¹ Goethe has noted on Schultz's letter in his own handwriting that he received it on August 5. It is dated July 29, 1814. See the *Briefwechsel zwischen Goethe und Schultz* [Dyk, Leipzig], edited by Düntzer, with a valuable Life of Schultz.—TR.

birthday, was a Sunday. He spent it, as he spent other Sundays, at Biberich. From September 1 to 8 Goethe stayed at the country-house of Franz Brentano, at Winkel. The first five days were occupied with a series of the most delightful excursions into the Rheingau.¹ On September 8, 1814, he returned to Wiesbaden. To the time we have reviewed belong many songs afterwards dispersed in the *Westöstlicher Divan*² and the sketch of the *Festival of St. Rochus*.

Goethe did not stay long in Wiesbaden after this, but returned to Frankfurt,³ where he yielded himself to the pleasure of coming into nearer contact with his dear fellow-citizens. By the reiterated invitation of Fritz Schlosser, he stayed in the house of Schlosser's mother, the widow of Hieronymus Schlosser, whose thoughtfulness and sympathy removed from Goethe's mind the feeling of strangeness in Frankfurt that he had felt ever since his mother's death, and that had made him avoid the city.⁴

During this visit to Frankfurt, Goethe formed one of the most important friendships of his life. He had long been acquainted with the *Geheimerath* von Willemer, a man of wide and generous culture and sympathy. Willemer was born

¹ Goethe has written the history of these pleasant days.—See *Im Rheingau Herbsttage*.—Tr.

² See Düntzer, *Goethes Westöstlicher Divan*, 25-29.—Tr.

³ On September 9, 1814, Goethe writes to Fritz Schlosser that he hopes to arrive at Schlosser's house in Frankfurt on the evening of Monday, September 12; Creizenach in his book *Goethe und Marianne von Willemer*, p. 33, says that Goethe arrived on September 10 in Frankfurt, I do not know on what evidence.—Tr.

⁴ See Goethe's letter to Hieronymus Peter Schlosser's widow, Weimar, December 30, 1814. *Goethe-Briefe aus Fritz Schlosser's Nachlass*, pp. 104-5. Among the old friends whom Goethe met were Riese, Kehr (vol. i. p. 51), and Georg Schütz (vol. ii. pp. 9 and 49). The last gave lessons in drawing to Marianne Jung.—Tr.

March 1760, and was thus more than ten years younger than Goethe. He had been married twice, and was soon to marry for the third time. The name of the woman who became his third wife was Maria Anna Jung. She was born November 20, 1784, and accordingly, when Goethe made her acquaintance, she was nearly thirty. Her native place was Linz on the Danube. She had been an actress, and a bewitching one. While she was still very young, Willemer had removed her from the temptations of the stage, and received her into his house among his daughters,¹ where he continually saw more and more reason to esteem and love her. This was the lady whom Goethe now first learned to know.

At this time Sulpiz Boisserée arrived in Frankfurt. He writes to his brother on September 19, 1814, that Goethe is "friendly, loving, and confidential, from the very depth of his heart;" soon, accompanied by Christian Schlosser, he will come to Heidelberg. Goethe stayed with the brothers Boisserée, in Heidelberg, from September 24 to October 9, 1814, enjoying the happiest days in the companionship of new friends, and of old friends once known in Jena, among whom were Paulus, Thibaut, and Voss. The glorious collection of paintings of the Boisserées filled Goethe with rapture. He planned to write, with the aid of the possessors, a treatise on this collection, and on the importance of Old German Painting and Architecture in general, and next Easter he would return to Heidelberg and have this treatise printed there.² From

¹ This was in 1800. The whole story of Marianne von Willemer is well told in Creizenach's Introduction to the *Briefwechsel zwischen Goethe und Marianne von Willemer*. But Düntzer's paper in *Westermann's Monats-Hefte* for September 1870, and Hüffer's in the *Deutsche Rundschau* for 1878 should be consulted also.—TR.

² See Düntzer, *Sulpiz Boisserée. Aus Goethe's Freundeskreise*, pp. 323, 324.—TR.

Heidelberg Mannheim was visited,¹ and on the return to Frankfurt Goethe was accompanied by Sulpiz Boisserée to Darmstadt on Sunday, October 9.² The time in Frankfurt was again spent delightfully in a large circle of friends. During his absence in Heidelberg Willemer had married Marianne. Goethe was their very frequent and welcome guest. On October 18, 1814, many beacon-fires, commemorating the battle of Leipzig, blazed on the hills round Frankfurt. From a tower in Willemer's vineyard Goethe and his two friends saw the spectacle.³ On October 19, Frankfurt was illuminated. Next day Goethe left his native city, rich in memories of happy friendship. Neither the Senate nor the Directors of the Theatre, however, had thought of taking any notice of the presence of their great fellow-townsmen. The good Willemer, feeling immense exasperation at this, had relieved himself by writing a description, spun from his brain, of a splendid performance of *Tasso* in Goethe's honour. This description he forwarded to the *Morgenblatt*, which printed it and shamed the Directors.⁴

¹ On Sunday, October 2, 1814. See the book called *Sulpiz Boisserée*, vol. i. p. 225—the extract from Boisserée's Diary.—Tr.

² They there succeeded in obtaining a drawing of the sketch of Köln Cathedral, that had lately been found in an attic; it was in the possession of a man named Moller. Goethe left Darmstadt for Frankfurt on October 10, 1814, though it had been his intention to stay until the 11th. Thus Goethe's *Resumé* of his journey is certainly wrong in placing his return to Frankfurt on October 13. Probably 13 is a misprint for 10. See Sulpiz Boisserée's letters to his brother Melchior, October 10, and October 11, 1814.—Tr.

³ Goethe was remarkably impressed by the wide prospect of flame-tipped hills: he refers to it often in letters afterwards.—Tr.

⁴ The report was soon challenged, and Willemer being called on for an explanation, was easily able to make his peace with the editor. But the account of the performance had been already copied by other papers, and the contradiction did not prevent many a *Life of Goethe* from adopting the story.—Tr.

Goethe returned to Weimar on October 27, 1814. Here he was at first completely occupied by business. During his absence the theatre had been opened with a performance of Müllner's *Schuld*, the only one among the modern genuinely poetic dramas that promised to be valuable as an acting piece.¹ Goethe now zealously urged on rehearsals of his monodrama *Proserpina*, in which he meant that Frau Wolff should enjoy a great triumph. The new scene-painter Beuther, an excellent artist, was a great help to Goethe in the representation, in which all the resources of scenic art were skilfully united. It was arranged that Calderon's *Zenobia* should be played on the birthday of the Duchess. In the apartments of the Duchess, Goethe used to read aloud to a select circle every Friday evening something—his own or another's. The first readings were from an account of the journey just terminated.

Goethe writes to Zelter on October 31, 1814:—"Infinite treasures of observation and of instruction have been mine, from the Granite on to the labours of Phidias,² and from that backward to our own times;" but the resulting distraction was a hindrance to consequent scientific or literary occupation, and the only steady work that he did was the study of the East, and the preparation of the new edition of his *Works*. For this edition, which was estimated to run to twenty volumes, Cotta gave him 16,000 thalers, though the exclusive right to publish was only to last eight years. In the December of 1814 Goethe went to Jena to stay some time, as he had so frequently done before, and to look after the scientific institutions there. He found all in good order, and only had to regret the want of unity among the professors.³ After his return

¹ Compare Goethe's remarks in the early paragraphs of the *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte* for 1814.—TR.

² This will refer chiefly to the visit to Mannheim on October 2.—TR.

³ Goethe to Voigt, December 13, 1814.—TR.

he became absorbed in the study of the East. He would need the minutest knowledge of the East for his *Westöstlicher Divan*, a work that had already begun to hover before his mind as a whole. And so he read a great deal in the Persian poets. But he was aware of the danger of yielding taste and imagination to the luxuriant charm of Hafis, and every day strengthened himself on the eternal nature and truth of Homer.¹ He moreover continued to prepare a largely augmented collection of his poems for the new edition of his *Works*. And he had again begun to work on the diaries and letters that he had sent long ago to Charlotte von Stein and Herder from Italy.²

The unfavourable reports that Goethe received through a secret channel of the progress of negotiations at the Congress of Vienna filled him with bitterness and regret. But his old resource for times of oppression and disgust—a steady consequent activity deliberately pursued—proved of good avail.³

A little later, Christiane's terrible attacks of cramp, (in the night before February 5, 1815, she was thought to be dead), brought him into dire distress.⁴ It was evident that her recovery could only be temporary. Goethe's life and thoughts were at this time altogether in the East. In February 1815 he composed a series of Hafis lyrics. At the Friday evenings of

¹ Goethe to Boisserée, January 2, 1815 :—"Täglich wird eine Pericope aus dem Homer und dem Hafis gelesen, wie denn die persischen Dichter gegenwärtig an der Tagesordnung sind." See also Goethe to Knebel, January 11, 1815.—TR.

² Goethe to Eichstädt, January 29, 1815. See above, p. 305.—TR.

³ Goethe's letter to Knebel, February 8, 1815, will be found an interesting reference here.—TR.

⁴ Goethe writes to Willemer, April 3, 1815 :—"I have been suffering a great deal : my good wife was but two finger-breadths from death. Now she is up and about, while a terrible cold has been my companion for four weeks."—TR.

the Duchess, he read aloud from Persian and Arabian poems. Even the first news of Napoleon's return from Elba, and a terrible cold caught in the beginning of March 1815, were in combination insufficient to check his Hafis poetry. It was not until after the middle of March that the verses ceased to flow, and he then began to work at the letters which describe his first sojourn in Rome from October 1786 to February 1787.

Goethe's *Epimenides* was at length acted in Berlin on March 30, 1815, the most unfavourable time possible, for the despot whose downfall it celebrated was again free. Goethe's mental and physical condition was so far from health that in the beginning of April 1815, instead of going himself to inspect the institutions in Jena, he sent his son August. But he sketched the Report relative to this inspection himself; also an Instruction for the custodian of the Jena museums. The first four volumes of the new edition were now sent off. Though his mood was the most bitter one, he could not bear to omit solemnising the close of the second lustrum that had elapsed since Schiller's death. And he resolved to seize the occasion to do honour to the memory of Iffland also. The great actor had died in September 1814. So now *Regierungsrath* Peucer was set to work on an after-piece to Iffland's play, *Die Hagestolzen*. The after-piece closed with an epilogue on the great actor. It was preceded by Schiller's *Lied von der Glocke*, with Goethe's epilogue again enlarged,¹ and the two last acts of *Die Hagestolzen*. The performance, on the anniversary of Schiller's death, proved very effective.

Meanwhile Goethe continued so poorly that all his friends urged him to go away to a summer watering-place, and the Duchess herself added a kind of command.² The doctors,

¹ See page 285.—TR.

² Goethe to Knebel, May 10, 1815; Goethe to Voigt, May 10, 1815.—TR.

who had advised the Bohemian baths in 1814, were now in favour of Wiesbaden. Thus Goethe, who had this time little inclination to leave his home at the season of the year when it was most delightful, was sent forth, one might say, by forces outside his own will, to find in his native Rhine-land not only a wonderful renewal of physical health and strength, but that noble and beautiful love which brought completeness to his fragmentary *Divan*, and to which is due its most exquisite fragrance.

He left Weimar on May 24, 1815. From the beginning the journey was rich in *Divan* lyrics. On the evening of May 27 Goethe left Frankfurt for Wiesbaden, where he arrived late at night. In Wiesbaden all awaited the issue of the new war in painful excitement. The first rumour of Waterloo (June 18) that reached Wiesbaden represented it as a defeat of the Allies; it may then be imagined with what great joy the truth was heard. It was a pleasant surprise to the poet, when the Emperor of Austria conferred on him the Cross of the Order of Leopold, while about the same time August was appointed *Kammerrath* by the Duke of Weimar. In the last week of July 1815 Goethe was with the minister Stein a great deal. Stein had sent him a friendly invitation to Nassau. Goethe converted the journey to Nassau into a mountain excursion, and was accompanied on it by the mineralogist Cramer. Stein persuaded Goethe to go on with him to Köln, in order to learn the state of the literary and scientific institutions of the city, and to ascertain clearly the wishes of the inhabitants. On Tuesday, July 25, 1815, Goethe and Stein drove to Coblenz, and then sailed in a large boat down to Köln. There they viewed the Cathedral within and without, visited private art-collections, paid visits, drove round the city, in short, saw everything of importance, and talked over all questions with able and well-informed men.

By Bonn, Andernach, Niedermendig, (where Goethe could not detect any trace of volcanic action), Coblenz, Nassau, he returned to Wiesbaden again.¹ Stein had called on him to send to Hardenberg a memoir on Art and Antiquities in the Rhine-land, and Goethe, wishing to take counsel with Boisserée, then in Schlangenbad, wrote urging him to come to Wiesbaden. Boisserée came, August 2, 1815.² It was arranged that Boisserée should make a sketch of the memoir, and Goethe would execute it himself. They spent more than a week in delightful intercourse. On the morning of August 11, 1815, they drove to Mainz; on Saturday, August 12, they arrived in Frankfurt. Boisserée alighted at an inn, while Goethe went on to Willemer's country-house, the so-called *Gerbermühle*, on the south bank of the Main, between Offenbach and Frankfurt.

The four weeks now spent with his dear friends were very happy. Marianne's brightness and grace, her singing, the disinterested sympathy in his pursuits (even in his *Farbenlehre*) of which she was capable, her talent for life shown in her power of planning and executing details with decision and self-confidence, above all, her tender, ardent affection, and her thorough understanding of his nature, drew Goethe irresistibly to her. She showed especial pleasure in his *Divan*, from which, by his own preference, he read many poems. But not only Marianne made his stay delightful; there was Willemer himself, and Willemer's daughter Rosette Städel, a refined, cultivated woman, who, since her husband's death in 1802, had lived in her father's house; both of them showed cordial affection for the

¹ He reached Wiesbaden, July 31, 1815. Our knowledge of the days spent by Stein and Goethe in Köln is partly derived from Arndt's book *Meine Wanderungen mit Stein*. There is also a diary by Goethe, giving a brief note of the events of each day. *Sulpiz Boisserée*, ii. 65.—TR.

² Boisserée has left a remarkably full diary of the time that he now spent with Goethe. See *Sulpiz Boisserée*, i. 249-294.—TR.

poet, and joy in his presence.¹ His birthday was kept with all honour. Among other gifts having connection with the *Divan*, he received a turban of the finest muslin, wreathed with laurel; this was a reference to his song: "Komm, Liebchen, komm, umwinde mir die Mütze."² Marianne and Rosette vied, indeed, in amusing him by roguish allusions to the *Divan* and his Persian beloved.

On Friday, September 8, 1815, Goethe went to live in Frankfurt in Willemer's town-house. Now began an exchange of bright lyrics between the old poet and the Suleika of the *Gerbermühle* who had grown so dear.

On September 12, he sent her the lovely poem:—"Nicht Gelegenheit macht Diebe." Marianne replied immediately with the admirable verses beginning:—"Hochbeglückt in deiner Liebe." From Frankfurt Goethe also sent her a leaf



Marianne Willemer.

FIG. 10. From a miniature on ivory of the year 1819, reproduced in the second edition of Creizenach's *Briefwechsel zwischen Goethe und Marianne von Willemer*.

¹ Beside Rosette, Willemer had three children; two daughters, both married, and a son, known as Brammy in the family.—TR.

² *Westöstlicher Divan* (Loeper's edition), viii. 14. Hempel's *Goethe*, iv. 130.—TR.

of the eastern plant *Gingo biloba* as a symbol of cordial friendship. One day amid the tumult of the fair,¹ Marianne was overjoyed to meet her beloved poet on the arm of her husband. With Boisserée Goethe went to see many collections of paintings, and enjoyed the society of old friends. On Wednesday, September 13, he announced to the delighted Boisserée that he would go to Heidelberg with him on the following Monday.

He returned to the *Gerbermühle* on Friday, September 15,² and gave Marianne a shawl bought at the fair, while in exchange she gave him a Turkish Order with Sun and Moon, roguishly protesting that a Turkish merchant had given it to her for the great poet. During the following Saturday and Sunday, she filled Goethe with delight by her "beautiful and sympathetic"³ rendering of some of his poems, of many pretty *Volkslieder*, and of the aria from *Don Giovanni*:—"Gib mir die Hand mein Leben."⁴ In the dialogue between Suleika and Hatem beginning:—"Als ich auf dem Euphrat schiffte," Goethe gave exquisite expression to his feeling that these days could never be forgotten. That Sunday evening

¹ See Marianne to Goethe, April 27, 1824.—TR.

² During his stay in Frankfurt he had paid Rahel that visit which she calls her "Adelsdiplom." It was nearly three weeks earlier, August 20, 1815, that she caught sight of Goethe in a carriage with the Willemers and Rosette, and ran towards the carriage crying, "Da ist Goethe!" Goethe had met her, I think, but once before—in July 1795, at Karlsbad. See p. 136.—TR.

³ Goethe to Zelter, Weimar, October 29, 1815;—"Von öffentlicher Musik habe ich auf meiner Reise nichts erfreuliches gehört. Einzelne lebenswürdige Stimmen zu Clavier und Guitarre sind mir sehr anmuthig gekommen. *Gott und die Bajadere* hort' ich vortragen, *so schön und innig als nur denkbar*."—TR.

⁴ She sang this with such bewitching charm that Goethe said she was herself a little Don Juan, whereupon all present laughed heartily, and she hid her face in the music.—*Sulpiz Boisserée*, i. 280-1.—TR.

(September 17¹) on which the aria from *Don Giovanni* was sung was the last of Goethe's and Boisserée's stay at the *Gerbermühle*. They were all very gay: those pleasant familiar jokes that are sure to come into existence when people are happy were reiterated with especial enjoyment. Then Marianne put on her turban and wrapped herself in the Turkish shawl, and all sat listening while Goethe read aloud Persian love poems, perhaps some of his own *Divan* songs.² On the afternoon of Monday, September 18, 1815, Goethe started for Heidelberg with Boisserée. Willemer had promised to come to Heidelberg with Marianne and his daughter.

The memoir for Hardenberg, which was to be called *Von Kunst und Alterthum am Rhein und Main*, had now grown to a book of manuscript a finger thick.³ Goethe and Boisserée drove to Darmstadt as their first stage, through woods where beautiful lights from the afternoon sun played on the tree-stems and the grass. Tuesday, September 19, was spent in Darmstadt, and at noon, on the 20th, they arrived in Heidelberg. During the next few days Goethe saw a great deal of his old Jena friend Paulus; they vied with each other in imitating the complex Arabian characters,⁴ and he exchanged

¹ Observe that in Boisserée's Diary there is a date omitted after September 16, which puts the subsequent dating until September 23 wrong by one. There is no September 17. *Diintzer on Goethes Westöstlicher Divan*, 1878, p. 59.—TR.

² *Sulpiz Boisserée*, i. 281:—"We remained together until one o'clock. It was a beautiful moonlight night. Goethe detains me with him for a while in his room; we chat, then it occurs to him to show me the experiment of the coloured shadow; we step out on the balcony with a wax taper, and are watched from a window by the little woman." Hermann Grimm long after saw with Marianne a comical sketch of Goethe, holding a light out of the window in order to see the moon more clearly.—TR.

³ See Sulpiz Boisserée's Diary, September 10, 1815.—TR.

⁴ See Goethe to Knebel, October 21, 1815.—TR.

many a pleasant jest with Paulus's merry little wife, who made fun of their efforts. On this visit to the Boisserées, Goethe devoted special attention to the study of the Cathedral of Köln; and he had the sketches of the Cathedral towers hung up in his room. He wrote some beautiful lyrics to the absent Marianne at the old Castle, and he wrote or scratched her cipher on the fountain near the terrace.¹

Meanwhile the Willemers had set out to pay the promised visit. On the morning of Saturday, September 23, 1815, Marianne wrote at Darmstadt² the noble song of yearning addressed to the East Wind.³ At noon, on the same day, the travellers surprised Boisserée and Goethe in Heidelberg.⁴ Between this and the afternoon of September 26, when the friends from the *Gerbermühle* left, several *Divan* lyrics were written. One of them was the beautiful *Wiederfinden*,⁵ a glorious utterance of the joy of reunion. When they went to the Castle for the last time Goethe pulled a leaf of *Gingo biloba* for Marianne, and he pressed a kiss on her forehead. A noisy crew of Russian soldiers rushed in and interrupted them as they sat and talked.⁶ A memorial inscription has lately been placed on the spot which this rare love-scene has

¹ See the dialogue :—"An des lust'gen Brunnens Rand." Loeper's edition of the *Westöstlicher Divan*, viii. 34.—TR.

² See Düntzer, *Goethes Westöstlicher Divan*, p. 64.—TR.

³ *Westöstlicher Divan*, viii. 39 :—

"Was bedeutet die Bewegung?

Bringt der Ostwind frohe Kunde?"—TR.

⁴ Boisserée had written to Willemer to come on Monday (the 25th). Hence the surprise.—TR.

⁵ "Ist es möglich! Stern der Sterne." Loeper's edition of the *Divan*, viii. 43.—TR.

⁶ This was in the so-called *Stückgarten*. Forty-five years later, in 1860, Marianne, on a visit to the Castle, gave these details to a sympathetic friend. See the little book by Frau Emilie Kellner (*née Andreä*), *Goethe und das Urbild seiner Suleika*, pp. 43-48.—TR.

rendered memorable. Before parting finally, Goethe and Marianne planned to write to each other in cypher. Each had a copy of Hammer's translation of the *Divan* of Hafis. By sending to each other the numbers of certain pages, and of a certain line on each page, they could make letters.¹ They moreover promised to think of each other when full moon came round again.² It had been full moon during Marianne's stay in Heidelberg. On Tuesday, September 26, 1815, the Willemer party left for home. A few hours later, Marianne wrote at Darmstadt the beautiful song to the West Wind.³ Goethe and Marianne never met again.

Some weeks before Karl August had written from Baden to Goethe that he would be in Heidelberg soon after September 20. At length, on Thursday, September 28, he arrived.⁴ On Friday he went to see the Boisserées' collection of paintings. On Saturday, September 30, Goethe and he went to Mannheim, and on October 1 Goethe returned alone to Heidelberg. The composition of beautiful Suleika lyrics went on during these days. Monday, October 2, was spent in resting, and on Tuesday the 3d he drove with Boisserée to Karlsruhe.⁵

¹ See Goethe's notes to his *Divan*, article *Chiffer*.—TR.

² See the *Westöstlicher Divan*, viii. 44 ; *Vollmondnacht*.—TR.

³ *Westöstlicher Divan*, viii. 42 :—

“Ach, um deine feuchten Schwingen,
West, wie sehr ich dich beneide !”

Frau Emilie Kellner (p. 30) tells a story of the great emotion with which Marianne once heard Jenny Lind sing these verses.—TR.

⁴ This is established by Goethe's letter to Voigt, Heidelberg, October 1, 1815.—TR.

⁵ They returned on October 5. Boisserée's Diary is remarkably full and interesting at this point. After talking of the Cathedral of Köln and of the Willemers, Goethe mentioned how forty years before he had often gone to visit Lili in Offenbach, along the path near the *Gerbermühle*. In Karlsruhe Goethe saw Jung Stilling again (after a lapse of forty years). Jung was very cold. Goethe also met Johann Peter Hebel in Karlsruhe.—TR.

On Goethe's return to Heidelberg he found awaiting him an invitation from Madame Jagemann-Heygendorf, who was at Mannheim in the Duke's company, to come and see tableaux and what-not at the festivities there. Goethe disliked Caroline Jagemann very much. It was a hateful summons from the free, simple life in the companionship of kindred souls that he had been leading for some months; the artificial society of princes and actors seemed very base and mean in comparison. He fell into a state of painful nervousness; he feared every moment to receive a letter from Karl August supporting the invitation. Flight was his thought. He started on October 7, 1815, taking the sketch of the Cathedral with him. Boisserée dared not let him travel alone in his vexed state of mind and body, and went with him. But he recovered as the chance of being overtaken by the Duke diminished; and on October 9, at Würzburg, Boisserée could see him depart for Weimar alone without apprehension. On this and the following day (October 10), although the demons ceased not to make mouths at him occasionally,¹ Goethe wrote two *Divan* lyrics,² which allude to the genius for poetry of Marianne. He reached Weimar on October 11, 1815, having been absent since the 24th of May.

The days that followed his return were full of disquiet. His first trouble was the loss of Pius Alexander Wolff and his wife, his best actors, who owed so much to the culture received from him. During his journey he had been communicating

¹ Goethe to Sulpiz Boisserée, Weimar, October 23, 1815:—"Den 11 October kam ich in Weimar an, nachdem mir zuletzt die Dämonen noch einige Gesichter geschnitten hatten."—TR.

² *Westöstlicher Divan*, viii. 35:—"Kaum dass ich dich wieder habe" (October 9); *Westöstlicher Divan*, viii. 23:—"Wie des Goldschmieds Bazarlädchen" (October 10). As to the wrong date (October 7) given to the former of these two lyrics in the quarto edition, see Düntzer, *Goethes Westöstlicher Divan*, p. 74.—TR.

with Wolff, who, compelled by weak health to go to baths in the beginning of July 1815, had asked an extension of leave of absence. This Goethe, by Kirms' advice, had at first refused, but had afterwards granted it on pressing repetitions of the request. The Wolffs were meanwhile offered very good terms by the Direction of the Theatre of Berlin. The hostility of Kirms, the uncertainty of affairs in Weimar, where Goethe's resignation of the managership was always to be feared, and the general inferiority of the position there, made the Wolffs determine on accepting the offer from the capital. In a letter addressed to Goethe, dated September 28, 1815, they announced their intention of leaving Weimar next Easter, when their contract would expire. They gratefully acknowledged how great was their debt to the master. But Goethe was pained to find that Wolff could take a step of this kind without speaking a word to him. Any attempt to have such a formal notice repealed seemed to Goethe unworthy of the dignity of the Commission of the Theatre, as he declared to the Hereditary Prince, who wished him to sound the Wolffs to discover on what terms they would stay. Finally Karl August left the affair to the Commission. Goethe moved Voigt to make a last attempt, but it was no use. Wolff considered it right to adhere to his resolve; he longed for a wider circle of activity.

Goethe was moreover disquieted about his own future, since in the imminent re-adjustment of the Ministry his functions and his rank would come in question. Not having been asked for advice, he held altogether in the background. The greater accordingly was his pleasure when on November 30, 1815, he heard through Voigt that, retaining his present duties, he was appointed First Minister, with a salary of 3000 thalers and an allowance for an equipage. The appointment of the Ministry was completed on the following day. Soon

after, in December 1815, Goethe went to inspect the scientific institutions in Jena, where indeed he had already spent a week in the previous month.

Meanwhile, the essay *Von Kunst und Alterthum am Rhein und Main* had advanced, notwithstanding manifold hindrances, the *Divan* had been growing richer and richer, and the friendship with Willemer and Marianne had been fostered by an interchange of letters and poems, which were the beginning of one of the most interesting and charming among Goethe's correspondences. Towards the end of 1815 Goethe was again very poorly. As for the Theatre, pretty nearly all pleasure in it was gone, what with the approaching loss of his best pupils, and the complaining and nagging of Kirms about costume belonging to the Theatre, which he said Frau Wolff was bound to restore to the management. Moreover, the actors were on bad terms amongst themselves. Still, when they appeared on the stage, the audience felt that their power of acting together was remarkable. Such, for instance, was the feeling on the birthday of the Duchess, January 30, 1816, when *Epimenides Erwachen* was acted, (though with all the beauty and effectiveness of detail, the piece as a whole was hard to comprehend). This was the first appearance of the play in Weimar; some alterations had been made. Karl August, who had the advancement of the study of Natural Science at heart, began to show great zeal for improving the scientific institutions of Jena, and accordingly a good deal of Goethe's attention was devoted to them. And the Duke also took lively interest in the meteorological observations begun by Goethe in 1815.¹

On the birthday of the Duchess, January 30, 1816, the Order of the White Falcon of Watchfulness was solemnly

¹ See *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte*, 1815, Goethe to Karl August, January 17, 1816, and *Wolkengestalt nach Howard* in *Zur Meteorologie*.—TR.

revived, and the Grand Cross of the Order given to Goethe and Voigt. *Vigilando ascendimus*—nothing could be nearer



FIG. 11. Goethe with the Grand Cross of the Order of the Falcon. Drawn by Ferdinand Jagemann. From an engraving by C. Müller.

the heart of Goethe's belief than this, the ancient Word of the Order! Voigt had composed a Prologue for the ceremony.

Goethe delivered a short speech of thanks. With February 1816 the *Divan* poetry ceased, but the songs were now arranged and revised, the study of the East was continued, and in the middle of February an announcement of the *West-östlicher Divan* was sent to the *Morgenblatt*. By the beginning of March the first number of *Kunst und Alterthum am Rhein und Main* was printed. In this Goethe considered that he had performed a duty towards his Fatherland, though, what with the German "many-mindedness" (*Vielmeinerei*), he did not expect much result from it.¹

The Grand Duke had promised a constitution to his people more liberal than that given seven years before. The ceremony of sanction of the Constitution was appointed to take place on April 7, 1816, when Goethe and Voigt were to stand on the right of the throne. "On the 2d of April," writes Goethe, "I was attacked by curious, not dangerous, but severe rheumatic illness, and had to go to bed. So far as I could judge, it would be impossible to be in, my place on the 7th. Then fortunately a Napoleonic saying came into memory—*L'Empereur ne connaît autre maladie que la mort*, and I said accordingly that, if not dead, I would appear at Court on Sunday at twelve o'clock. It appears as though the doctor and Nature took to heart this tyrannic saying, for I stood on Sunday, at the right hour, in my place on the right hand next the throne. And at table, too, I was able to satisfy all obligations. Afterwards I came home again, and went to bed."² He was very much grieved when, on April 18, 1816, the Duke told him of the death of the good Empress of

¹ Compare Goethe to S. Boisserée, June 8, 1816:—"Leider aber wird bei dieser verworrenen und gleichgültigen Weltverfassung das Gemeine: *was nicht hilft, wenn's nur nicht schadet!* schon einige Beruhigung geben können."—Tr.

² Goethe to Zelter, May 3, 1816.—Tr.

Austria. The liberally-conceived Fundamental Statute of the Constitution, framed in concert with the Deputies, was published on May 5, 1816. Goethe was no friend of Freedom of the Press, nor of constitutional popular rights, which seemed to him to be hindrances to vigorous government.

CHAPTER II.

SEVEN YEARS ON THE HEIGHTS.

1816-1823.

GOETHE may now be considered to have reached a high table-land of life, and during the next seven years we rather picture him as traversing this table-land in assured possession of the many glorious and valuable things that it had to give, than as climbing to a goal with painful renunciation and toil. Old age had not begun, yet he had all the luminous wisdom that usually comes only when the decay of the power of enjoyment has sadly lessened the value of wisdom. We will not take all the events of these years in chronological order, but will group them under certain headings. And first we will consider—

Goethe's domestic and personal circumstances.—

The period began with one of the great sorrows of his life. Christiane was again attacked by dreadful spasms; her suffering filled him with anguish. On June 3, 1816, when sending the first number of *Kunst und Alterthum* to Fritz Schlosser, he excuses the brevity of his note by the "grievous domestic misfortune" that is his hindrance. Three days later death delivered poor Christiane from indescribable agony. Goethe has left in both verse and prose record of the deep

sorrow that he felt.¹ August Goethe writes, on June 10, 1816, to Fritz Schlosser :—"Honoured friend, when I tell you that my dear mother is dead, it is enough to make our condition real to you. My father tries to bear up by aid of a steady activity, and I derive energy from the thought of being useful and pleasant to him in domestic and social relations."

A few days after this the poet of *Werther* met the Lotte of Wetzlar again. She came to Weimar to visit her sister, the wife of *Kammerrath* Riedel.² Kestner had died sixteen years ago.³ Lotte still took full interest in life, and met Goethe with cordial friendliness. Dressed in white, with her slight form,

¹ The lines written on the day of Christiane's death are—

"Du versuchst, O Sonne, vergebens,
Durch die düstern Wolken zu scheinen!
Der ganze Gewinn meines Lebens
Ist ihren Verlust zu beweinen."

To Zelter on June 8, 1816, he writes :—"When I tell you, sturdy, well-trying son of old Earth, that my dear little wife has in these days left us, you will understand what that means." At the close of a dictated letter to Boisserée, June 8, 1816, he writes with his own hand :—"I add that my dear little wife has in these days left us, and my dear friends will assuredly feel for me." To Luise Seidler he writes, June 12, 1816 :—"With my great loss the only way to make life endurable is to reckon up gradually all the goodness and love that is still left to me." To Alexander von Humboldt, who had sent him a copy of his book *On the Distribution of Plant-forms on the Earth*, Goethe replied on June 12, 1816, with the eight beautiful lines beginning "An Trauertagen," to be found in the division of his poems *An Personen*. When Christiane was dying, Goethe, kneeling by her bedside, broke forth in the despairing cry, "Thou wilt not leave me! no! no! thou canst not leave me!" When the end drew near, and the doctor called him, saying that it was time to come if he desired to see her again, he followed sobbing. He took her hand, and caressed her brow. She opened her eyes and tried to speak, but could only make inarticulate sounds. He left the room in an agony of sorrow.—TR.

² See vol. i. p. 451.—TR.

³ In May 1800.—TR.

her significant eyes, her fine profile, and her cultivated, intellectual personality, she made a charming impression ; only her head shook continually, as is noted by Charlotte von Schiller.

The death of Goethe's wife made him wish more than ever for an affectionate young daughter-in-law. His eye rested on Ottilie von Pogwisch, the granddaughter of an old lady whose hearty fondness for fun had made her well known in Weimar. The Countess Henckel von Donnersmark, accompanied by her daughter Henriette, the widow of a Major von Pogwisch, and two granddaughters, had arrived in the train of the Crown-Princess in 1804. Ottilie was the elder of the two granddaughters. As a child she had been used to sing at Goethe's house-concerts, and had attracted him by her grace, her friendliness, her beautiful voice, and her thorough musical knowledge. She was sympathetic and intellectual, and was an ardent enthusiast about Goethe. (This did not prevent her from delight in Jean Paul, also, between whom and Goethe there were such fundamental differences.) Her family life had been a disorganised thing ; she slept at her grandmother's, and only spent a few hours every day with her mother, and then dined somewhere else ! August was not averse to this bride. And so, on January 1, 1817, Goethe writes to Zelter that the betrothal has taken place. The Court and the city regarded the match with favour. Very pleasant results for society in Weimar might be expected, people thought. The grandmother and her sons had had some objection on the score of August's birth, but soon dropped it ; still, malicious tongues were busy about the marriage.

Goethe roguishly advised the bride not to contradict his son, who always wished to be praised ; if she wanted to scold, let her come to himself. Already August had the tendency to dissolute, sensual indulgence, that destroyed his constitution in the end. Goethe hoped that an intellectual woman like

Ottilie would bring him into other ways, and that the very oppositeness of their characters would be the foundation of a genuine domestic happiness. Later, there was a fiction current in Weimar about a connection between August and an actress, one of those who fill a mute part at a theatre; this woman, the story ran, came to Goethe's box one evening, and, throwing herself before him, implored him to sanction her marriage with his son. On June 17, 1817, August and Ottilie were married in the strictest family privacy, for Goethe, as we know,¹ could not bear external ceremonies of this kind. The young pair had to content themselves with the top story of Goethe's house, which was, however, made as pretty and cosy as could be. To Ottilie it seemed heaven, Frau von Schardt recounts, to live at length on firm ground in her own house. According to the same fine observer, the two young people were happy, like children when a great deal of care has been taken for them; their new-furnished rooms were filled with the perfume of flowers, and with peace. "The papa is very fond of his daughter-in-law," writes Frau von Schardt; "when he was in Jena she had to write to him every week; so, too, he wrote to her. He shared with her all the treasures which he cherishes *con amore*, or produces."²

At this period Goethe spent most of his time in Jena, living first in the Castle, and then in the ruined gardener's house at the Botanic Gardens, where he stayed even during the winter. In the spring of 1818 he occupied the rooms on the top story of the inn *Zur Tanne* at Camsdorf, a suburb of Jena. From these rooms he had a lovely view.³ He remained in them until the end of June 1818. It was only

¹ See pp. 144 and 163.—TR.

² In Düntzer's *Charlotte von Stein*, ii. 450-1, there are long and interesting extracts from Frau von Schardt's letters.—TR.

³ See Goethe's letter to Zelter, February 16, 1818.—TR.

now and then that he came over to Weimar; as, for instance, to the masked ball of the 18th of February 1818. On this occasion he caught a cold, the effects of which lasted a long time.

On April 9, 1818, he was gladdened by news of the birth of his grandson, Walther Wolfgang. The birth was a painful one. "The poor young papa has endured a great deal," writes Charlotte von Schiller, "and I believe even more through the womankind around [Ottilie's family and Adele Schopenhauer, who were in great excitement] than through his wife's condition. His bright, troubled face has made him still dearer to me." Goethe saw his grandson first on April 14, after the christening. His joy in the birth of this grandson found expression in the humorous mineralogical *Cradle-Song*.¹

The new German Constitution granted right of migration free from taxes. Goethe had accordingly withdrawn his property so far as possible from Frankfurt, and in order to escape the civic tax and other burthens, had declared through an attorney his resignation of civic rights. Many had expected that the Senate of Frankfurt would make him a freeman of the city;² but Goethe's withdrawal of property had embittered them, and they showed their displeasure. Not only did they make a detailed note on December 9, 1817, of Goethe's retirement from citizenship, but, contrary to usage, they crossed

¹ *Wiegenlied dem jungen Mineralogen Walter von Goethe, 21 April 1818.* He had his grandson received at once into the Mineralogical Society of Jena.—TR.

² Dalberg had this plan when Prince Primate, but the War of Liberation had removed him from power. See for fuller accounts of these negotiations that by Schlosser, *Fritz Schlossers Nachlass*, pp. 25-6, and by Creizenach, *Goethe und Marianne von Willemer*, pp. 95-6. Another reference given in these books is Ruppell in *Archiv für Frankfurts Geschichte und Kunst*, 1855.—TR.

out the original entry of his name, made in the autumn of 1771, when, after his return from Strassburg, he had become a citizen of Frankfurt.¹ And later, when he wanted to sell a house, they made the transaction difficult. All this did not tend to make him more anxious to visit his native city. In July 1816 he had started for Frankfurt, accompanied by Meyer, but the carriage was upset, and this omen deterred Goethe from going to the Rhine in that year. In 1817 the claims of Jena prevented it; his only pure pleasure-trip in that year was a visit on his birthday to the noble monastery ruin, Paulinzelle,² where his son surprised him with a secretly prepared banquet. And henceforth a mysterious voice prevented him from visiting his native city, notwithstanding many friendly invitations. In 1818 he went to Karlsbad again, and geology reasserted her old empire. But at the close of his stay³ a bad cold overtook him, and he was not well until some days after his return to Weimar. In October 1818 he had a visit from his dear Zelter.

Goethe's home-life was at this time extremely pleasant. In the middle of the day he dined with his family, which had been lately increased by the addition of Otilie's younger sister Ulrike, who, though weakly, gladdened the household with a bright, affectionate presence. Then there were friends who alternated in their attendance at the dinner-table, and who came pretty regularly in the evenings. The most constant of these visitors were Heinrich Meyer, Riemer, Privy Councillor von Müller,⁴ and the Countess Julie von Egloff-

¹ See vol. i., p. 161.—TR.

² Goethe observes in the *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte* for 1817, that though he had been for forty years traversing Thüringen in all directions, he had never visited these ruins before.—TR.

³ Goethe was in Karlsbad from the close of July until the middle of September 1818.—TR.

⁴ Müller had been head of the Judiciary as Chancellor von Müller since 1815.—DÜNTZER.

stein. The young lady last named, then only sixteen, charmed Goethe by her intellect and grace, and a decided talent for painting. Another welcome guest was the architect Coudray. Coudray had been in the service of the Grand Duchy of Frankfurt, and on its dissolution was engaged by Weimar.

At the close of 1818 the Empress-Mother of Russia visited Weimar. Goethe was called on for a masque, and could not refuse. In order to concentrate his thoughts he withdrew to Berka, and there in a wonderfully short time the extensive work was composed. The ladies and gentlemen who filled the various parts had to come to Berka to be drilled. The scene at the performance on December 18, 1818, was one of the highest of our poet's triumphs.¹

After this Goethe remained for a considerable time in Weimar. In the spring he suffered a painful loss. On March 22, 1819, Christian Gottlob von Voigt died. There were indeed few with whom Goethe's life had been more closely knit for many years, not merely through their relation as men of business, but as human beings in the full sense.

Voigt's death left a vacancy in the *Superintendence*² of literary and scientific institutions. August Goethe was accordingly now appointed to a place in it subordinate to his father. Twelve days before the death of Voigt another old friend had departed. Friedrich Jacobi died suddenly in München, March 10, 1819. Goethe's heart, in spite of all that had happened, had still clung to Jacobi in deep affection. His last greeting had been a letter introducing Luise Seidler when she went to München nearly two years ago (July 1817). In May 1819 Goethe sent his son and his daughter-in-law to

¹ This, the most important of all Goethe's *Maskenzüge*, was also the last. See Goethe to Knebel, December 26, 1818. Goethe to Zelter, January 4, 1819.—TR.

² See pp. 287 and 353.—TR.

Berlin to visit his nephew *Staatsrath* Nicolovius¹ and other friends there. Soon after this August Goethe lost his best friend through the departure of Ernst Schiller, who, unable to find a permanent situation in Weimar, went to Köln as *Assessor*.

In March 1819 Goethe had an unexpected visit from Willemer, who was going to Berlin to beg mercy from the King of Prussia for the young officer who had killed his son Brammy in a duel in the summer of 1818. The friendliest relation had been kept up with the Willemers through all these years.² Willemer promised to return from Berlin by Weimar, but was unable to do so. In July 1819 Marianne went to Baden, and thence she wrote to Goethe a letter in which she spoke ingenuously of the deep emotion that had been stirred when she recalled old memories which Willemer's visit to Weimar had in several ways wakened again with great vividness. Goethe was deeply moved by this letter. He wrote a short passionate assurance of affection, he even fell into the use of the passionate "*Du*."³ Marianne's silence⁴ was hardly needed to remind him of his accustomed self-monition "*Nicht weiter!*" At the close of August 1819 Goethe went to Karlsbad. Before his departure he sent to Willemer a copy of the *Westöstlicher Divan*. There are poems by Marianne in it, but how much more does it owe her than those few lyrics, beautiful as they are!

¹ Georg Heinrich Ludwig Nicolovius married Marie Anna Luise Schlosser, Goethe's niece, the daughter of Cornelia.—Tr.

² It is noteworthy that nearly all Goethe's letters in the Willemer correspondence up to this point are addressed either (a) to Willemer, or (b) to Rosette Städel, or (c) to Willemer and Marianne collectively. This becomes more noteworthy when we remember how he avoided visiting Frankfurt.—Tr. ³ Goethe to Marianne von Willemer, July 26, 1819.—Tr.

⁴ She did not reply until a little later than the middle of August, when she was again in Frankfurt. Goethe had written on August 5, 1819, to Willemer:—"Nach Baden habe ich gleich geschrieben, man wird verzeihen wenn ich zu aufrichtig gewesen bin."—Tr.

There was a fine celebration of Goethe's birthday in Frankfurt in this year (1819), and his friends sent him a golden laurel-wreath with emeralds. At this time, too, some important men joined in proposing a monument to the poet at Frankfurt; it was to be a hall erected on a hill with a bust of Goethe high placed, the hall adorned with pictures whose subjects should be taken especially from *Hermann und Dorothea*.

On December 5, 1819, Friedrich Stolberg died. His death affected Goethe the more because of the violent attacks which Voss had made on Stolberg shortly before. The tenderness with which Goethe treasured all memories of the friendship that had begun when he and the Stolbergs were young together was outraged by this harshness of Voss. In this December of 1819 Goethe had a severe illness, the after results of which compelled him to strict seclusion for a while. In the previous year he had begun to hold almost altogether aloof from Court.

At this time August was growing more and more gloomy and irregular in conduct. His position in Weimar, where he was expected to play the part of son of his father, to whom he was considered an appendage, drove him to despair, and in his disgust he abandoned himself with less and less restraint to a sensual life. Towards his father he showed deep affection and faithful obedience; came every morning to receive his commissions, and, when not compelled to go to Court, dined with him; but in the evenings generally followed his own inclination. The superintendence of the cabinet of coins and the cabinet of natural history was performed by August with great care; in all things, indeed, he was a model of order. An enthusiastic admiration for Napoleon filled him; he gathered everything connected with the great conqueror that he could lay hands on.¹ His heart throbbed with the desire for genuine

¹ Cp. Eckermann's *Conversations with Goethe*, January 17, 1827; March 7, 1830.—TR.

friendship, which he could not find. The periods of abandonment to excess always lasted but a short time. He had little feeling for plastic art, but fine appreciation of great poetry; thus he loved and admired the noble creations of his father and of Schiller. His own mind found expression in poems deep in feeling, but generally lacking in completeness of form.

In the year 1820 Goethe's visit to Karlsbad was very early, for the winter had used him ill. In Eger he made the acquaintance of Joseph Sebastian Grüner, the magistrate who examined his pass. Grüner came to return the pass in person. His reverential affection, his fondness for mineralogy and history, and his power of true observation attracted Goethe much, who promised on his return from Karlsbad to stay longer in Eger. This was on April 26, 1820; on May 28 Goethe arrived in Eger again, and spent a pleasant day with Grüner. After this a close friendship grew between them. "Goethe was of high stature," writes Grüner,¹ "of strong robust build, the brownish hair slightly bleached, the brow high arched, the eye still fresh and fiery, the colour white and red. The features of the countenance were strong, the chin somewhat prominent, the neck considerably fleshy. . . . Usually he wore a dark-blue over-coat that came to the ankles, at times, too, a black frock-coat and trousers of the same colour. . . . A fine white or black silk waistcoat, a white cambric scarf folded small and laid round the neck and the ends joined by a breastpin should not be omitted. On account of his full-bloodedness . . . he had used himself to wear his neck-cloth very loose."

After his return from Karlsbad business detained him in Jena a long time; he lived in the Botanic Garden as before. Here, in August 1820, he had the pleasure of a visit from Schultz, who was accompanied by the artists Schinkel,

¹ See the book *Briefwechsel und mündlicher Verkehr zwischen Goethe und dem Rathe Grüner*, Leipzig, 1853.—TR.

Tieck, and Rauch. The last two made models of Goethe's bust. On September 18, 1820, Goethe's second grandson, Wolfgang Maximilian, was born. Ottilie's sufferings had been long and severe, and there was grave fear that she would not recover. Goethe returned to Weimar before the middle of October 1820, and had a pleasant fortnight's visit from Fritz Schlosser and his wife. Their secession to the Catholic Church had not made Goethe less friendly. During this winter he did not leave his house.

In the spring of 1821 there was a renewal of the old dominion of music. Eberwein and his wife gave small and large concerts at Goethe's house. In June 1821 Goethe procured one of Streicher's pianos. Meanwhile the project of erecting a memorial to Goethe at Frankfurt had not been forgotten. In May 1821 the committee was able to report that the city had given a site, that the likeness of Goethe had been ordered, that a design of the building had been made, and that a considerable sum had been collected in Frankfurt. The committee called upon the sovereigns and the peoples of Germany for contributions; and the subscription was fixed at ten gulden. Goethe feared that the affair was planned on too large a scale; he wished that the monument had been brought into connection with the new Library. From the beginning there was, indeed, something wrong-headed about the management of the affair; and all, to Goethe's annoyance, ran away as it were into the sand in a strange fashion, not even the setting up of his likeness in the Library being accomplished. The subscriptions were paid back; and when many givers refused to take theirs, the sum that remained was expended in sending to the poet regularly on his birthdays a quantity of the noble wine of his native country.

Goethe felt very unwell in the summer of 1821. At the end of July accordingly the doctors sent him to Marienbad, a

new health resort dependent on the Abbey of Tepl. In Marienbad, notwithstanding the rainy weather, many stones were hammered and a good stock of specimens gathered. Goethe's "after-cure" in Karlsbad was hindered by the inundation that desolated the place on September 9, 1821. After spending about three weeks in Eger (August 25 to September 13) he returned to Jena, where he stayed from September 15 until the close of October. On receiving word from Zelter that, accompanied by his daughter Doris and by his pupil, the wonderful pianist and composer of eleven, Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, he was about to visit Goethe, the latter hastened to Weimar. The history of the vividly-spent, delightful days that followed is open to us in the accounts of it written by the wonderful boy.¹ Goethe felt extraordinary elevation of spirit, and was ready for the gayest merriment. The baths had done him so much good that the winter passed without illness, yet at length a severe cold set in and lasted a long time.

Already, as Cotta's exclusive right in the second edition of Goethe's *Works* would soon cease, Goethe was meditating a new edition, the last which he could hope to see. He set the Library secretary, Kräuter, to work, arranging his papers and letters. And he looked round him for young men who would aid in the preparation of the new edition. In the previous year he had endeavoured to gain for himself the young Karl Ernst Schubarth who by his essay, *Zur Beurtheilung Goethes*,² had proved his earnest goodwill. But Schubarth desired a State appointment. As to the study of Mineralogy Goethe found an able ally in the Petersburger Soret, who, now in his

¹ English readers will find Felix's letters translated in Hensel's book *The Mendelssohn Family*. Those who read German had better get the little book *Goethe und Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy*, Leipzig, 1871.—TR.

² First published in 1817, and republished in 1820; Schubarth was with Goethe in Jena in September 1820. See Goethe to Schultz, October 1, 1820.—TR.

seven and twentieth year, was summoned to be the tutor of the Hereditary Prince. Soret, when four years old, had gone to live in Geneva.

The June of 1822 saw Goethe again in Marienbad. There and over the country, as far as the Fichtelgebirge, there was now a great deal of stone hammering. Goethe was glad to meet in Marienbad the well-known mineralogist Count Caspar von Sternberg. And the heart of the poet was here kindled once again. Ulrike von Levezow, a wondrously charming maiden of fifteen, who with her mother (Goethe's Pandora¹) and two sisters visited the ecclesiastical watering-place, by her look, her voice, and her angelic personality, laid a strange spell on the poet, now seventy-two, a spell of which he only became aware when the time to part arrived.² On his return he wrote outside Eger the poem *Æolsharfen*, which expresses the yearning emotion of separated lovers. For a time the cheery, affectionate letters of Marianne von Willemer drew no response, and Alwine Frommann in Jena thought she could observe melancholy moments.³

Yet he soon resumed the mastery of himself, and took a gracious part in the social life of his home. As he had ceased to go to the Court, the Court came to him; the Grand-Duke Karl August one morning every week, on Tuesday mornings the Grand-Duchess Luise, on Thursday mornings the Crown-Princess, and Goethe had always something important in

¹ See p. 240 of this volume.—Tr.

² Goethe arrived in Eger from Marienbad on July 24, 1822. He made many excursions, and saw a great deal of Grüner. Sternberg, too, came to Eger. Goethe left Eger for home on August 27, 1822. See *Goethe und Grüner*, pp. 76, 119, 120 (on p. 120 read "27" for "24"), and Goethe to Sternberg, Eger, August 26, 1822.—Tr.

³ So Marianne learned from Alwine Frommann's brother, who was in the shop of a Frankfurt bookseller. Düntzer, *Goethes Westöstlicher Divan*, p. 128.—Tr.

literature or science to lay before each. On Tuesday evenings there was generally a large assembly to tea at his house ; many of the young Englishmen, Scotchmen, and Irishmen, who were about in Weimar, had access. Goethe himself always appeared, at least for a short time, at this tea. On December 14, 1822, after a long interval, he had a musical evening at his house again. The severity of the winter now came hard upon him. Besides, the love of Ulrike von Levezow may have disquieted him.

On February 17, 1823, Goethe was suddenly attacked by inflammation of the pericardium, and probably of part of the heart ; for a few days the worst was feared ; not until February 26 was the danger over.¹ His recovery of strength was slow. He had been a long time without consciousness ; the use of arnica at the crisis had cured him.² He was immensely gladdened when (March 22), in celebration of his recovery, his *Tasso* was acted, with a prologue having reference to the occasion. Immediately after the successful performance, an account of it was brought to him.³

After his recovery Goethe sent his reply to the letter of Countess Auguste von Bernstorff, once Auguste von Stolberg, the dear friend of his youth whom he had never seen. She had written to him in October 1822, exhorting him to be converted. She conjured him to depart from all in the world that is petty, vain, earthly, and not good ; to turn his gaze and his heart to eternal things, and to make good, ere too late, the harm that his writings had done to the souls of others. Goethe's reply is serious and dignified : "To live long is to outlive much ; beloved, hated, indifferent men ; kingdoms, capitals, cities, nay, forests and trees that when young we sowed and

¹ See August Goethe's letters to Schlosser and to Zelter, February 26, 1823. *Goethe-Briefe aus Schlossers Nachlass*, p. 113 ; *Goethe und Zelter*, iii. 292.—TR.

² Cp. *Soret* (in *Eckermann*), Tuesday, February 24, 1823.—TR.

³ *Ibid.* Saturday, March 22, 1823.—TR.

planted. . . . All this fleeting show we accept unconcerned ; we are not troubled by the evanescence of Time if the Eternal is every moment present. All my life I have meant honestly towards myself and others, and in all my earthly action have looked to the highest. You and yours have done the same. We will then continue to labour while it is day ; a sun will shine for others also ; they will play their part, and meanwhile for us there will be a clearer light. And so let us remain untroubled about the future. In the kingdoms of our Father are many provinces, and since here on earth He has given us such a peaceful abiding, there will be provision for us both yonder also ; perhaps then we shall have the happiness hitherto withheld, and know one another face to face, and so love one another more thoroughly than before. In calm trust be mindful of me." So far Goethe had written immediately after the receipt of Auguste's letter, but he had not sent what he had written, because, by a like utterance of himself, he had once against his will wounded her brother. But after his recovery from the dreadful illness of that spring : "The page shall go to you to bring you direct evidence that the Almighty still permits me to behold the fair light of His sun ; may the day to you as to me shine with friendly brightness, and may you think of me with goodness and love, as I cease not to recall those times when that still worked in union which afterwards was sundered ! May all be united again in the arms of the all-loving Father !" ¹

In the early summer of 1821 the student Johann Peter Eckermann, then twenty-nine, had sent from Göttingen a copy of his poems, with a short account of the strange events of his life ; and Goethe had replied with a few friendly lines. Moreover, Eckermann heard that he had spoken favourably of his confidant. And now, in May 1823, Goethe received the

¹ Goethe to the Countess Bernstorff, April 17, 1823.—TR.

manuscript of Eckermann's *Beiträge zur Poesie*, with a request that he would recommend it to Cotta. As Goethe delayed to reply, Eckermann, longing for a decision, set out on foot for Weimar. On June 9, 1823, Goethe received Eckermann's request for an interview, and named noon on the following day. He proved very friendly. On the second day of their intercourse he said that he would be glad if Eckermann would remain in Jena all the summer, until his return from his approaching visit to Marienbad. Eckermann would not only find this a good step for his own purposes, but could further those of Goethe. Eckermann was commissioned first to hunt out Goethe's articles in the *Frankfurter gelehrte Anzeigen*, and then to make an index to *Kunst und Alterthum*, carefully noting such subjects as might be considered not to have received their full treatment.

Before Goethe left Weimar¹ for Marienbad, in the number of *Kunst und Alterthum* that his illness had delayed, he spoke publicly his heartfelt thanks for all the kindness that he had received, both at home and from abroad, since his illness. To such strong proofs of sympathy he would endeavour to respond after the fashion in which he had won them, namely by an earnest, faithful, honest, objective activity which would benefit his Fatherland as well as foreign countries. "Since the Almighty has permitted me to emerge again from this hard fight with adequate intellectual and spiritual powers, it is my duty to think continually on the careful use of them."

He arrived in Marienbad in the early days of July 1823. Karl August had arrived shortly before. Goethe felt remarkably well; he obtained delightful lodgings; and as the other

¹ He left Weimar on Thursday, June 26, 1823. He arrived in Eger on the evening of Sunday, June 29, and reached Marienbad on Wednesday, July 2. Goethe to Schultz, July 8, 1823. See also Grüner's book, on p. 130 of which read "Sonntag" for "Montag."—TR.

occupants of the house were all ladies,¹ he had quietness. Among these ladies were the Levezows. Ulrike's charm bewitched him anew; with her, his beloved "Stella," he spent the happiest days. When he heard her voice in the *Brunnenallee* he would seize his hat and hasten to her;² he missed no opportunity of being with her. Not until the beginning of August 1823 did his love reach the height of passion; all was so open and remarkable that the visitors to the baths talked of marriage. Ulrike's mother broke everything off by leaving Marienbad suddenly. When they were parting Ulrike, after a first kiss of farewell, could not help pressing one more on the poet's lips.

In the extraordinary excitability of that time Goethe was very receptive for music. The singing of the celebrated *prima donna*, Madame Milder of Berlin, moved him to tears. So, too, did the wonderful playing of the lovely Polish lady, Madame Szymanowska, the first pianist to the Empress of Russia. In these tears Goethe found himself again, found the power to bear with courage the great sorrow of renunciation, and to lift himself anew after it. In the poem *Aussöhnung*³ he acknowledges the beneficial power of Madame Szymanowska's music. Now he was able not only to roguishly joke at Mlle. Wolowska, her sister, who was melancholy and had thoughts of death, but to address two stanzas⁴ to the good friends in Weimar, who were about to celebrate at the same time his birthday and his wonderful recovery; these stanzas were recited by his son at the banquet. On August 20, 1823, conducted by Grüner, who had come to fetch him, Goethe drove to Eger,

¹ Goethe to Knebel, July 11, 1823.—TR.

² *Eckermann*, Monday, October 27, 1823.—TR.

³ See the *Trilogie der Leidenschaft* in Goethe's poems. See also *Eckermann*, December 1, 1831.—TR.

⁴ The lines beginning—

“ In Hygiea's Form beliebt's Armiden,
Im Waldgebirg sich Schlösser aufzubauen.”—TR.

where he wished to examine the surrounding mountains. After a few days of excursion with Grüner he set out for Karlsbad. On August 25, 1823, on the way to Karlsbad he composed, bit by bit in the carriage, writing down at each stage what he had composed, the noble *Elegie*¹ that glorifies the difficult resolve to give up Ulrike. He spent his seventy-fourth birthday alone in Elbogen, refusing an invitation to keep it at Castle Hartenberg with Count Auersperg. On September 7, 1823, he returned to Eger, and remained there until September 11, chiefly occupied with mineralogy.² He rested a few days in Jena before he ventured to return to Weimar, whither the report that he was betrothed had come. He now invited Eckermann to remain through the winter in Weimar, promising to procure lodgings not far away from himself. At midday on Wednesday, September 17, 1823, he reached his home apparently cheery and glad, but those who looked deeper could see how hard he found it to resume the old accustomed Weimar life. His bitter disgust with circumstance was uttered freely to Chancellor von Müller.³

On September 28 the arrival of *Staatsrath* Schultz gladdened Goethe. He had confessed to Schultz in a letter that in Marienbad he had loved much.⁴ Two days after Schultz came Count Reinhard to pay his long-promised visit. On October 2, 1823, Goethe called Müller aside and began to talk anew of a plan of evening assemblies during the winter.

¹ See the *Trilogie der Leidenschaft* in Goethe's poems. See also *Eckermann*, Sunday, November 16, 1823. Goethe's companion on the drive was J. John, his secretary. See Grüner's book, page 169.—TR.

² All through the summer Goethe's servant Stadelmann had been diligently gathering mineralogical specimens for him at Marienbad and elsewhere.—TR.

³ See *Goethe's Unterhaltungen mit Müller*, Tuesday, September 23, 1823.—TR.

⁴ Goethe to *Staatsrath* Schultz, Eger, September 8, 1823.—TR.

Goethe would first invite a number of people once for all, and they should come after that on any evening they pleased. One of the most important of the Weimar ladies must be a kind of patroness, and none would be more suitable than Frau von Fritsch. Goethe's object in this assembly was to provide some charm against the *ennui* that Weimar life had for him after the excitement of Marienbad. He confided to Müller then his relations with the Levezows. "It is an affection that will still give me plenty to do, but I will get over it. Iffland could make a charming piece of it—an old uncle who loves his young niece too ardently." In the days that followed Goethe often appeared melancholy and reserved, then again, however, he would be cheerful and communicative. On October 14, 1823, there was a large company to tea at his house, among others Savigny with his wife and daughter. Goethe was very friendly and bright, his daughter-in-law often clung to him and kissed him. Ten days later, October 24, 1823, he gave an evening party in honour of Madame Szymanowska. Her inspired playing charmed all hearers. On October 27, there was another party at Goethe's. Before the party in the quiet of his own room Goethe showed to Eckermann the manuscript of the *Elegie*. It was written in large Latin characters on fine vellum paper, and was fastened into a red morocco case with a silken cord. Madame Szymanowska played on two other evenings at Goethe's house. On November 5, 1823, she dined there for the last time. Goethe endeavoured to be cheery and amusing, and through it all the deep pain that the parting gave him was evident. At five o'clock the carriage came to take her to her farewell audience with the Crown-Princess. It was doubtful whether she would come again. "Then the human in Goethe was plainly revealed;" he begged Müller¹ to bring about her return to bid

¹ Who tells all this story in the *Unterhaltungen*.—TR.

farewell once more. Some hours later Müller and August led her and her sister to him. The beautiful artist thanked Goethe earnestly for his goodness, and he replied with a jest, wishing to carry off matters lightly, but tears burst forth. Unable to speak, he pressed her and her sister in his arms, and his gaze followed them for a long time, as they disappeared down the series of open rooms. To this exquisite woman he did, indeed, owe his restoration to himself, but she had now involuntarily aroused in him anew the feeling of painful renunciation.

In the night preceding the 6th of November 1823 Goethe was attacked by a cough and inflammation of the chest. This did not, however, prevent him from receiving his friends. On November 12, 1823, Wilhelm von Humboldt came for a visit of several days. But the illness grew worse. On November 16 he had to begin sitting through the nights in his arm-chair, and this wearied him very much; then came pains in the kidneys, and the coughing grew convulsive. Zelter, who arrived on November 24, found him in a very critical state. Goethe found some comfort in reading to Zelter the *Elegie* that was so dear to his heart. Zelter's presence was a manifest benefit. Cough and cold yielded, sleep returned, only a pain in the right side remained. Though he gradually became quite well, there was an extreme abatement of vigour, the youthful freshness, which only a short time since had filled him with life, did not return; Goethe had grown really old at last, and after this illness felt unfit to attempt any journey of considerable length.

Goethe's Official Labours, 1816-1823.—Goethe's most important activity in the public service was destined to a dreary termination soon after the point at which this chapter begins. Annoyed at being unable to frustrate the choice of Kotzebue's *Schutzgeist* as the piece for the birthday of the

Grand-Duchess Luise, (January 1817), Goethe did not interfere to prevent the performance of the piece in its whole length, and accordingly great disgust was roused. Goethe seized the occasion to declare his resignation of the managership, but Karl August persuaded him to take the reins once more, assuring him that he should have uncontrolled power in matters of æsthetics, and placing his son at his side in the Intendance of the Theatre. Goethe, earnestly intent on bringing the players, who had been growing careless, into good discipline by careful practice, brought the *Mahomet* of Voltaire on the stage again, and he took the trouble to make an abbreviated adaptation of the wretched *Schutzgeist*, and to have it very carefully rehearsed. When the play was given on March 8, 1817, "in the old Weimar fashion, with precision as well of entrance, exit, action, and grouping as of recitation and declamation,"¹ the greatest applause was gained. After this triumph he handed to the Grand-Duke a new scheme of the constitution of the Theatre. The Duke, having accepted this graciously, Goethe went, on March 20, 1817, to Jena, in order to work out in detail a number of regulations about the *Regisseurs*, the *Capellmeister*, the *Repetitor*, the *Correpetitor*, and about other matters. Then he returned to Weimar. But Caroline Heygendorf-Jagemann was not pleased with the rigid rule to which Goethe, moved by zeal for art, would fain subject the Theatre, and she used an occasion that offered for getting rid of the poet. Goethe refused to allow the actor Karsten to exhibit his dressed-up poodle performing the chief part in the *Dog of Aubry* as adapted by Karsten. Caroline Jagemann succeeded in persuading Karl August, who was passionately fond of dogs, to insist on carrying through the order for the performance. As Goethe was unable to prevent it, he went to Jena, April 13, 1817. The Grand-

¹ Goethe to Zelter, March 9, 1817.—TR.

Duke wrote to him immediately : " Dear friend, various utterances of yours which I have heard or read, have informed me that you would be glad to be freed from the vexations of the managership of the Theatre; that you would, however, willingly aid with advice or action if (as will probably often occur) you were asked by the Intendence. I willingly meet your wishes in the matter, thanking you for the great service that you have done in these very entangled and wearying affairs, begging you to retain interest in it on the art side, and hoping that the lessening of annoyance may increase your good health and lengthen your years. I enclose an official letter that has reference to this change, and wish you well to live."¹ Goethe replied with like formality, accepting the dismissal, but begged "*unterthänigst*" that his son might be relieved from the labours of the Intendence, that he might be able to give all his time to the building-work assigned him.

Goethe could now devote his entire energy in official matters to the Superintendence of the institutions of science and art. At Michaelmas 1817 he delivered a comprehensive report on the condition of the Museums at Jena. Another labour was soon afterwards provided for him. The melancholy condition of the University Library had attracted attention at Gotha. Thence came a wish that the Weimar Superintendence would take up the management of the Library, which had been hitherto in the hands of the Senate. And so Goethe was most unpleasantly surprised by receiving a Rescript, dated October 7, 1817, which indicated that he was to devote himself to the matter, and to sketch a plan immediately for rearranging the Library in the best manner. After having carried out the needful preparatory measures through Voigt, who was associated with him, he betook himself to Jena on November 7, 1817. It is impossible that we should enter on

¹ This letter is dated April 13, 1817.—Tr.

an account of Goethe's conduct of the toilsome and complicated task. It was at length for the greater part completed on November 18, 1824. And a wider scope than that of this book would be needed to describe the labours of Goethe among the many institutions that branched out of the Museums, or his activity with regard to the Meteorological Observations, that the Grand-Duke set on foot in 1821 in connection with the Observatory. At a late time he used often to speak with pleasure of the energy with which he had in these labours opposed the selfishness, the intrigues and pretensions of individuals.¹ Even by September 1823 he was able to boast that his Institutions at Jena were noble and in the finest order, because he had treated everything absolutely objectively, and had not appointed a single man uselessly.² At the same time Goethe was the best advocate, and the true friend of those subordinates who served him faithfully.

Goethe's Literary Activity, 1816 - 1823.—After Goethe's return from the Rhine and Main in October 1815, the *Divan* had received many additions, had been arranged and revised; its printing was completed by the end of September 1818, but the needful elucidations and illustrations were not to be done hastily, and not until the August of 1819 was the whole work, notes and all, in print. Besides the *Divan*, these years produced a rich harvest of lyrical poetry, tender, or passionate, or gay, or reflective. There were noble ballads, too, and Goethe's aphoristic vein of poetry flows during these years with no less freedom than formerly, in deep meditations on God and the World, on the destiny and fate of man, or in lighter verses expressing the mood of the moment, sometimes

¹ The reader will find it interesting to refer to Eckermann, March 15, 1830.—TR.

² *Goethe's Unterhaltungen mit dem Kanzler von Müller*, Thursday, September 18, 1823.—TR.

sociable and kindly, sometimes gravely deliberative, sometimes playful, sometimes repellent and combative. With such rare favour did the Muse of Poetry delight to honour him even in his high old age.

The work in prose of this period is also very important. The first volume of *Wilhelm Meister's Wanderjahre* was formed by uniting various tales, the larger number of which had already appeared. By May 1821 this volume was printed. But now there was a delay, for Goethe was dissatisfied; he felt that the parts had not been fused into a whole, and it was impossible to continue the work on these lines. He resolved that in a new edition all hitherto done should be completely recast. But some years elapsed before he attempted this.¹ In the last chapter we saw Goethe working on the diaries and letters of his sojourn in Italy.² The first volume of *Die Italiänische Reise* appeared late in 1816, the printing of the second was completed in July 1817, as Goethe tells Boisserée on the 29th. These two parts brought the journey as far as the return to Rome after the excursion to Naples and Sicily. They are called on their title-page the First and Second Parts of the Second Division of *Aus meinem Leben*. The *Campaign in France* appeared in 1822, and was called oddly enough the Fifth Part of the Second Division of *Aus meinem Leben*. We have seen how Goethe had paused at the close of the Third Part of *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, because he felt it impossible to give an account of his love for Lili while she still lived.³ During the years treated in this chapter he made a couple of attempts to resume his narrative, but he found himself unable to progress satisfactorily with it.⁴ On the other hand, he began

¹ See Eckermann's *Conversations of Goethe*, January 15, 1827.—TR.

² See p. 318.—TR.

³ See p. 305. Lili died in 1817.—TR.

⁴ See *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte*, 1821, Goethe to Schultz, June 12, 1822, and Eckermann's *Conversations*, August 10, 1824. The Fourth Part of *Dichtung und Wahrheit* was not completed until 1831.—TR.

that annalistic summary of his life known as the *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte*, or *Annalen*.¹ The numbers entitled *Ueber Kunst und Alterthum in den Rhein- und Maingegenden*, that began to appear in 1816,² soon took a wider scope than at first intended or than its name indicated. The very second number contained a long-planned polemic against the "New-German, Religious-Patriotic" conception of art. The article purported to proceed from W. K. F., viz. Weimarer Kunst-Freunde (Weimar Lovers of Art), a signature that had been in use in earlier times in the *Propyläen*. It was written by Heinrich Meyer, but Goethe's own distinct view of the matter was propounded with an explicitness that pained even Boisserée. The limitation implied by the latter part of the title, "*in den Rhein- und Maingegenden*" having been over-passed, these words were dropped when in 1818 the first number of a second volume was published. The work was now simply *Kunst und Alterthum*. Henceforth it was an organ through which Goethe freely communicated his thoughts, not only on plastic art and on antiquities, but on poetry; he even published in it some of his smaller poems.

Goethe and Natural Science, 1816-1823.—He provided himself with a similar organ for the results of his study

¹ He began it in 1820. In the preface to the *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte* in Hempel's *Goethe*, xxvii., will be found an attempt at an account of their growth, by W. Frh. von Biedermann. The following is his table of approximate results:—

In 1820 Goethe wrote the account of 1797 and 1798.			
„ 1822	„	„	1799, 1800, 1806-9.
„ 1823	„	„	1810, 1819-1822.
„ 1823 and 1824	„	„	1811-1818.
„ 1825, January to May,	„	„	1749-56.
„ June 1825,	he completed the year 1802.		

The other years quite uncertain.—TR.

² See p. 330.—TR.

of Natural Science. In 1817 the first number of the first volume appeared; it was entitled *On Natural Science in general, especially Morphology. Experience, Speculation, Deduction, deriving unity from their connection with a life's events.*¹ There were again two subordinate titles, according to which the work fell into two divisions, *Zur Morphologie* and *Zur Naturwissenschaft überhaupt*. The second and third numbers were not published until 1820, and in 1824 the work came to an end with the completion of the second volume. It was in its numbers that Goethe first printed his old researches on the intermaxillary bone,² and in comparative anatomy.³ It was, moreover, in them that he first made public his conviction, now thirty years old, that the skull is a modification of a vertebral bone.⁴ Sixteen years later than Goethe, Oken had hit on the same conception, and in 1807 had made it public, though the method of his exposition was odd and faulty. Two years later Lamarck expounded it in his *Philosophie Zoologique*. Goethe remained silent, although urged by his friends to assert his priority in the discovery.⁵ The great importance of his osteological researches is now universally acknowledged. In

¹ *Zur Naturwissenschaft überhaupt, besonders zur Morphologie. Erfahrung, Betrachtung, Folgerung, durch Lebensereignisse verbunden.* Goethe's own commentary on the last phrase of this title will be found, as Kalischer points out (Hempel's *Goethe*, xxxiii. x. xi.), in his letter to Rochlitz, June 1, 1817.—TR.

² See vol. i. pp. 426-8.—TR.

³ See pp. 134-5 of this volume.—TR.

⁴ See p. 87 of this volume.—TR.

⁵ He did not announce until 1820 that he had held the theory "many years." See Hempel's *Goethe*, xxxiii. 253 (*foot*). In 1823 he first related the circumstances of the discovery, *ibid.* xxvii. 353 (*foot*). The subject has been well threshed. See Lewes's *Life of Goethe*; Düntzer's *Aus Goethes Freundeskreise*, the article on Oken; and Kalischer's Introduction to the volumes of Hempel's *Goethe*, that contain Goethe's scientific writings; Hempel's *Goethe*, xxxiii. pp. cxlii.-cxliv.—TR.

Geology, too, Goethe's Neptunic theory is gradually gaining ground, for he did not hold the crass belief that the moulding of the earth's surface is solely due to the action of the waves of the sea, he believed in the subsequent and partial operation of volcanic forces.

It was not without passion that Goethe defended his dear Theory of Colour in the pages of his new scientific journal. We find him explaining with great delight and sympathy his view of Malus's discovery, the polarisation of light ; this, indeed, had occupied him so early as 1812.¹ Goethe's conclusion was that the colours which Malus called ent-optic were dependent on the sun's position in the sky. As in the *Farbenlehre* the beauty of the description of the phenomena of colour and of the series of connected experiments is acknowledged, while Goethe's explanation is rejected by science.

To the studies of Natural Science, in which we have so long seen Goethe busied, must be added in these years that of Meteorology. So early as 1816 he had been greatly interested by Luke Howard's attempt to apply a terminology to the distinction of different kinds of cloud—Cirrus, Cumulus, Stratus, Nimbus. Goethe soon found that each cloud-form is peculiar to its own atmospheric height. He finally adopted the view that all meteorological phenomena are to be explained by assuming the earth to vary in its power of attraction ; when the power is great the density of the air is great and the barometer sinks ; when the attraction is slight the barometer rises accordingly. He endeavoured to make real to himself this supposed variation in the earth's attractive power by the image of In-Breathing and Out-Breathing, and he called the two opposite states of the earth its Water-Negation and

¹ Goethe tells us in the *Geschichte der entoptischen Farben*, that in August 1812 he began experimenting on the phenomena observed by Malus.—TR.

Water-Affirmation.¹ In all this Goethe departed from the mode of procedure which he had hitherto observed, viz. in every inquiry to choose from the whole subject the point as to which there is the greatest certainty, and to assume firm footing on that; and he committed all that facts seemed to render doubtful to time, to chance, and to the activity of other inquiring spirits. He did not, of course, deny that there must be many other co-operating meteorological influences beside his hypothetic variations of earth-attraction. Modern science recognises no such attraction, but does hold the revolution of the earth on its axis to be a factor. Goethe fortified himself by a series of observations pursued for years with zealous carefulness.

In all these studies of Natural Science which fill such a large part of the closing decades of his life he derived valuable aid from certain external agencies or influences—from the institutions that the Superintendence controlled, from a wide and fruitful intercourse with men of science, and in a very remarkable degree from the pleasant journeys of the summers and autumns. Any one who follows him through these years in his own letters and papers, and the ample records of his life and conversation left by other men, will find one feeling grow continually—simple marvel that any being should be such a fountain of vigour. The Universal Nature that surrounded him, no less than the varied thoughts and deeds and emotions of his fellows, was full of meaning to this man, and as his keen glance penetrated and analysed the strange, complex infinite, which we call the Human, so, too, he was intent on passing beyond mere contemplation of the infinite of phenomena which are not human, to the comprehension of that infinite in so far as his peculiar gifts enabled him.

¹ This theory is first stated in the first part of the *Italiänische Reise* (September [9] 1786), which Goethe published in 1816.—TR.

BOOK X.

THE RESTLESS CLOSE

1824—1832

CHAPTER I.

GOETHE'S OLD AGE—AN ALMOST UNINTERRUPTED RESIDENCE IN WEIMAR, DURING WHICH HE PREPARES A FINAL EDITION OF HIS WORKS—DEATHS OF CHARLOTTE VON STEIN, OF KARL AUGUST, OF LUISE, AND OF GOETHE'S SON — A PERIOD OF UNCEASING ACTIVITY—WIDE CORRESPONDENCE AND GREAT INFLUENCE.

1824-1830.

GOETHE considered the last years allotted to him by fate as his "testamentary" years. In them he would secure the publication of an edition of his works as complete as possible ; and would secure, moreover, an income for his heirs from the proceeds of this edition. It was accordingly needful to finish the *Annalen* (or *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte*), to re-write in some measure what had been done of the second part of *Faust*, to re-shape and complete *Wilhelm Meister's Wanderjahre*. His health was precarious, and the winters trying, but he had the power of quietly waiting on his good times.¹ During the earlier years of this closing period we find him looking forward to visiting his dear Marienbad, but when the time for starting comes he always feels unfit for it, his strength only sufficing for daily drives at first, and short excursions later on. The

¹ It will be found interesting to turn to his conversation with Eckermann, March 11, 1828.—TR.

want of exercise was injurious to a man of apoplectic temperament. So much the more important to him was the lively personal intercourse with the friends who continually visited him, and the guests so seldom wanting at his dinner-table. At dinner he always exhibited a careful hospitality, carving at a side-table with, one might say, sovereign dignity, pressing food and drink with friendly urgency on his guests, concerned about their favourite dishes and their general enjoyment. At his evening receptions, where he generally abstained from food, he showed himself in the most various moods, sometimes roguishly merry or ironical, or purposely contradictory and paradoxical, sometimes passionately moved, or kindly and affectionate, or gentle and sympathetic, and sometimes inclined to frank self-utterance, and the instruction of those to whom he spoke, while there were also times of silence and reserve, when something important occupied his thoughts, or he was low-spirited, and languid, and incommunicative from bodily illness. That which enabled him to endure was his consciousness that he had faithfully performed his duty as a man, as a citizen, and as a servant of the State ; and that he had employed his powers for the highest purposes in literature and in science. The world at that time possessed no loftier spirit, no nobler intelligence, than the universal German poet, whose influence swayed the best minds of England, France, Italy, Poland, Russia, America, whose abode was a place of pilgrimage for critics, artists, poets, philosophers. Weimar was then, and has been since, the Kaaba of all Germany, though Menzel and Börne disowned and denied Goethe, though Heine mocked at him, in spite of the counterfeit-manufacture of the foolish parson Pustkuchen, in spite of the opposition, especially to the Theory of Colour, of many men of science, in spite of the artists in München and Rome, who held his æsthetic theories to be wrong. And Goethe himself felt that

the homage done to him was simply gratitude, due because of his having employed to good purpose the talent committed by gracious Mother Nature to his keeping. By the sovereign

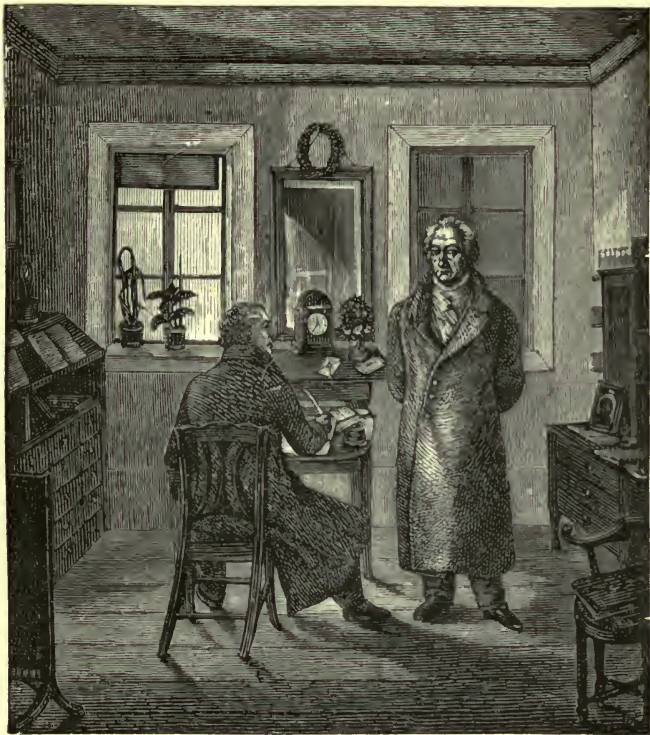


FIG. 12. Goethe in his study. From an oil-painting by J. J. Schmeller.

family of Weimar he was regarded as an honoured member of their house ; German kings and princes came to him to attest their reverence ; in and around Weimar, when he passed, no head remained covered. Only by his own fireside

that peace, which is the crown of happiness, was not. The dissension between his son and his daughter-in-law, the dissolute life of August, the moral and physical ruin which was its result, and, finally, August's death far away, brought deep woe on the old man; and the deeper because the two young people for whose welfare he cared so much had fine gifts; because August, in spite of the dominance of his sensual nature, did not succumb to that fatal callosity of soul, and selfishness, and imbecility, which in the long run are the fruits of licence. He still loved his father well, and was tenderly careful for him, and in affairs he showed clear intelligence and good sense, (he was made Privy Councillor of Finance and Chamberlain), and thus this prodigal never suddenly wrenched himself away from his father's heart, but kept continually wringing it to pain, that dulled and freshened again. And so August's death was a sharp grief. Yet Goethe bore it as he bore the deaths of Karl August and Luise, like a wise man who faces the inevitable with composure, though there were times of melancholy and bitter tears. He was upheld and made strong by his sense of duty, by the unresting, though unhasting activity of his insatiable intellect, by a lofty self-esteem that was nourished on his consciousness of great results and a world's homage, and by a certain high, serene benevolence of mood that sided always with what was good and lovely, that led him to be mild in judging the faults of men, to be glad in relieving their need, and brought with it an unspeakable consolation.

In the beginning of the year 1824 we find Ottilie and August on bad terms. Ottilie had gone to join her mother in Berlin towards the close of December 1823. In Berlin she met a young Englishman, to whom she felt a great attraction, which she was not ashamed to acknowledge. At the same time the condition of her sister Ulrike gave great anxiety to Goethe; she had fallen heavily on the back of her head, and the worst

was feared. Otilie's accounts of her Berlin life brought him much pleasure, for she had a receptive clearness which made her a good observer and narrator of external events. As for her faults, Goethe felt that he must not be hard, but must take at its worth her vivacious, excitable, charming personality.

During the earlier months of 1824 he was occupied with the *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte*, while Eckermann was busy reading through his papers. Goethe showed the most kindly interest in Eckermann's career, and in their intercourse continually endeavoured to cultivate and elevate his conception of Art. Though during the winter he was compelled to remain quietly indoors, we find him by February 29, 1824, taking a drive before dinner with Eckermann, and on March 16, 1824,¹ his carriage brought him to his Garden in the Park, which he had not seen for a long time, and though there was sadness in the old memories that the place aroused, he visited it frequently afterwards. He brought Eckermann there on March 22, and had the little house opened, and showed Eckermann the tiny room upstairs where he had done so much work many years ago. On March 25, 1824, Karl August writes: "The day after to-morrow [Töpfer's] *Hermann und Dorothea* will be represented on this stage; it certainly will be a pleasure to you. So do come; you can conceal yourself either in my little box or in our large one." On April 14, 1824, there was a concert at Goethe's house; it was a good while since there had been one before. A choir, conducted by Eberwein, sang parts of Händel's *Messiah*. The ladies who were present joined the singers, Otilie and her mother, the Countess Caroline von Egloffstein,² and Fräulein von Froriep. Goethe, sitting at a little distance absorbed in listening, spent a very happy evening: a long-cherished wish was gratified. Soon after, his true old

¹ Chancellor von Müller's *Unterhaltungen mit Goethe*.—TR.

² The elder sister of the Countess Julie von Egloffstein, p. 337.—TR.

friend, Friedrich August Wolf, came and stayed with him for about a week. Wolf was very poorly, and was now on his way from Berlin to the South of France. He was as fond of opposition as ever. Goethe gave a dinner in his honour on April 19, 1824; at this dinner there was a great deal of merry wit combat between the two. On another occasion Goethe made ironical allusions to Wolf's courtier-like submissiveness.¹ This was the last meeting of the friends; Wolf died at Marseilles a few months later.²

More and more definite became the plan of employing Eckermann and Riemer as *collaborateurs* in preparing the new edition of his *Works*. In April 1824 he obtained his letters to Schiller from the Schiller family. He considered these letters part of his *Remains*, and Cotta had promised to publish them. Moreover, Cotta had in general terms declared himself ready to publish the new edition.

In the summer of 1824 Ottilie went to Schlangenbad, and did not return until her father-in-law's birthday. Goethe had had thoughts of going to Marienbad, but found after all that he was unfit for travelling, and remained in Weimar. And his quiet stay-at-home life agreed with him very well. Only there were many little family misfortunes that jarred on him. Thus Ottilie was poorly, and his elder grandson, little Walther, broke his arm.³ During the long winter evenings Goethe, with Coudray's help, sketched the plan of a new theatre for Weimar.⁴ He had, moreover, talked with Coudray about the *Fürstengruft*⁵

¹ This was on April 21. Wolf had spent nearly all the day before with Karl August, the Duchess, and the Crown-Princess, and was dreadfully wearied by it.—TR.

² He died on August 8, 1824.—TR.

³ Müller, *Unterhaltungen mit Goethe*, October 11, 1824.—TR.

⁴ See Eckermann, *Conversations with Goethe*, March 24, 1825.—TR.

⁵ Literally "Princes' Vault"—a mausoleum for the royal family of Weimar.—TR.

which Karl August built this year on the highest part of the new cemetery. For this noble prince disdained to seek a burial-place for himself and his race away from Weimar.

As Goethe desired that his new edition should bring in a good deal of money, it behoved him to endeavour to prevent piracy. So he formally petitioned the Diet of the German *Bund* to make unauthorised reprinting of his works a punishable offence within the States that composed the *Bund*.¹ Moreover, he took a great deal of pains to gain powerful members of the Diet to his side.² At the sitting of March 24, 1825, the matter was brought before the Diet, but there was a considerable difference of opinion. Some Governments thought that the Diet should assent to the petition, while others preferred that each Government should protect Goethe within its own territory. And there was accordingly delay, and Goethe was kept in suspense almost all that year. He had a great deal of trouble and spent much valuable time in rousing those who were indifferent by repeated appeals, and in writing letters of thanks to the several States, each letter composed to suit a special set of circumstances.³

On March 22, 1825, two days before that sitting of the Diet which was so important to Goethe, the Theatre of Weimar was burned to the ground. This event pained and agitated the old poet sadly; the monument of many years of cherished recollections was swept away.⁴ He slept little during the

¹ Goethe's petition is dated Weimar the . . . January 1825. It is reprinted by Strehlke in his *Verzeichniss von Goethe's Briefen* [Berlin, 1882], i. 143-5.—TR.

² See in Strehlke's *Verzeichniss von Goethe's Briefen*, the articles *Baust*, *Baiern*, *Deutsche Bundesversammlung*, *Metternich*.—TR.

³ Cp. Eckermann's *Conversations with Goethe*, December 25, 1825.—TR.

⁴ "The fire is the grave of my memories," he said to Müller, then added: "But the only means of overcoming adversities is a fresh activity, and accordingly I will hold a session with Riemer this very day."—TR.

night, but lay and watched the flames rising unceasingly to the sky. Weakened by the emotion and want of rest, he stayed in bed on the 22d. When Eckermann visited him he stretched out his hand to him. "We all have suffered a loss," he said, "but what can be done? My little Wolf¹ came to my bedside early this morning. He took my hand, and, looking at me with big eyes, he said:—'Thus it is with human things!' What more can be said!" In the first dismay Goethe had been inclined to gloomy thoughts, and had considered the fire a bad omen for the jubilee of Karl August's accession, which was to be held that year. But he soon rallied, and was zealous in urging that a new Theatre should be commenced. The design which Coudray and he had made during the winter would be useful now. And when Eckermann came to dinner on Sunday, April 10, 1825, Goethe had the good news that Karl August had approved this design, though there had been a great deal of opposition. The foundation was accordingly laid without delay, and the building advanced rapidly. But on April 29 Eckermann, on going to the site, was distressed to find that the work was stopped, and to hear that another plan, whose execution would be cheaper, had been preferred to Goethe's. Without doubt Goethe's steady opponent, the all-powerful Caroline Jagemann, had a hand in this. Goethe bore the strange rebuff with gentle composure,² and showed no irritable sensitiveness, though he was still weak from an illness.

Soon after Goethe's resolve to publish a new edition had become known through the proceedings at the Diet, offers from many publishers began to come to him. On May 5, 1825, the brothers Friedrich and Heinrich Brockhaus came to

¹ His second grandson, who was his constant companion, and who used to breakfast with him.—DÜNTZER.

² Eckermann, May 1, 1825.—TR.

Weimar to negotiate. Goethe referred them to his son, who was to be the possessor of the profits of the edition. They would give 50,000 thalers, and an agreement for twelve years at this price was sketched. Ere deciding, however, August resolved to see whether a larger sum could not be obtained. But though new bidders presented themselves, none offered more than the brothers Brockhaus. Goethe was in reality anxious to remain with Cotta. He had begun to think that Cotta was lukewarm in the matter.¹ But Boisserée assured him to the contrary. Just at that time Cotta had to make some long journeys, and these had delayed his coming to Weimar. So Goethe sent to him an exact account of the new edition, and awaited an offer which should be "the first and the last."² Cotta declared that he would give 10,000 thalers more than any other publisher, though by an old agreement³ he had the right of preference. Goethe was very anxious to have all uncertainty brought to an end, and on August 13, 1825, he enclosed to Boisserée a memorandum to be communicated to the great publisher. The more important part of it may be thus paraphrased:—"Fifty thousand thalers Saxon money have been offered, and it has been added that when a final agreement to this effect is at length signed, a certain sum will be added to this fifty thousand. Thus Cotta, in order to outbid all other offers, as he has promised, will have to pay between sixty thousand and seventy thousand thalers Saxon money. But my son and his advisers think that the price of the exclusive right for twelve years to publish this edition in forty volumes should be at least one hundred thousand thalers." We shall return to this subject a little later.

During all this time Goethe's health was pretty good, though he did not leave Weimar. At length, on June 13,

¹ Goethe to Boisserée, May 2, 1825.—TR.

² Goethe to Boisserée, May 20, 1825.—TR. ³ See pp. 236, 316.—TR.

1825, we find him driving to Belvedere with Chancellor von Müller. The weather was mild and lovely, and the desire to travel awoke in Goethe, and plans of travel were formed. Two days later the friends repeated their drive, but there is no further mention of a desire to travel; the negotiations with publishers were bringing too much anxiety.¹

Among the numerous friends who greeted the old man on his seventy-sixth birthday was his oldest friend, Karl August. When Karl August asked him what new thing he had, Goethe presented his grand-nephew Alfred Nicolovius from Berlin, introducing him in royal fashion as "cousin." The Duke who was in extremely good spirits, said to Nicolovius: "You have come by the diligence, have you not? You Prussians take only a few hours to drive through my whole Grand-Duchy." Goethe made his favourite Alfred promise to stay for the approaching jubilee of the Duke's accession, September 3, 1825.

There was a great stir in Weimar on that day. In the morning, before six o'clock, Goethe surprised the Duke in the "Roman House," while a cantata by Riemer was being sung outside. Goethe had slipped quietly between the columns wreathed with laurel and flowers, in order to be the first to greet his Prince, among whose servants he was the oldest and the longest in harness. He had a medal commemorative of the day to give to Karl August; it was his own design, engraved by Brandt from a drawing by Meyer. When he came into the Duke's presence he was unable to speak. But Karl August seized his hands and exclaimed: "Together till our latest breath!"² Then he began to recall their happy youthful

¹ On June 17, 1825, Goethe writes to Marianne: "I shall probably not leave this place this summer."—TR.

² *Weimar's Jubelfest* makes Goethe say this. But Herr Alfred Nicolovius told Professor Düntzer that the words belong to Karl August.—TR.

time : "Oh, eighteen years and Ilmenau !" Afterwards he said : "Let us, however, be especially grateful that even on this very day that is fulfilled which once was sung to us at Tiefurt :—

‘ Nur Luft und Licht und Freundeslieb !

Ermüde nicht, wenn dies noch blieb ! ’ ”]

To which Goethe replied : "This has given me threefold what I have given !" Then Karl August embraced Goethe and drew him to the window, and they both talked in a low voice for a while. All the front of Goethe's house on the *Frauenplan*¹ was beautifully adorned for the day. Among other decorations there were eight pictures that had been painted at the Weimar Drawing Academy for the festal welcome of Karl August in 1814. Karl August, it will be remembered, had not come to Weimar, as expected,² and he had never seen these pictures. Goethe's friends, who knew how they had been exhibited to public gaze on that occasion, were startled when they found him making use of them again. Goethe sent Alfred Nicolovius down to hear what the people were saying, and he was much pleased when Nicolovius brought word that they were engaged in explaining the pictures. In the evening the house was brilliantly lit up, and free welcome offered to all. Otilie received the numerous visitors who streamed through the fine suite of rooms. The Crown-Prince of Weimar came, and several princes of other sovereign houses, and all the notabilities, ambassadors, savants, citizens. Goethe stood in the middle of the room in a plain black coat, wearing the Grand Cross of the Order of the Falcon. Although he had risen so early that morning he did not retire until midnight, and was accordingly rather poorly next day. It may be said that he made all this sacrifice for the Duke ; let those who desire assurance of the disinterested amiability of Goethe read of the affec-

¹ Vol. i. p. 406 ; vol. ii. p. 102.—TR.

² See p. 308.—TR.

tionate warmth with which he received the good Joseph Sebastian Grüner, whom he had invited to the festival.¹ The new Theatre was opened on this gala-day, before Goethe's evening reception, with the opera *Semiramis*. The prologue for the occasion was written by Riemer; it was long since Goethe had done anything of the kind.²

While an unceasing tumult of rejoicing went on in Weimar, Goethe received Cotta's conditions through Boisserée. Cotta would give the 60,000 thalers, and if the sale went beyond a certain number Goethe should have a share in the profit. These conditions were accepted by both father and son.

Fresh rejoicings set Weimar in commotion soon after this. The Court, it is true, had instituted no festival to celebrate the golden wedding of the Duke and Duchess on October 3. Eleven days later, however, on the anniversary of the battle of Jena, the citizens presented the Duchess with a medal commemorative of the day, nineteen years ago, when her lofty courage had saved Weimar. And the jubilee of Goethe's arrival in Weimar was at hand. Karl August wished to celebrate this day as the fiftieth anniversary of the beginning of Goethe's service, though Goethe himself had not expected this, (he thought that the festival would celebrate the fiftieth return of June since 1776, for in that month in that year he had formally entered on office). And so Court and city made great preparations to do befitting honour to the day. Goethe was wakened early in the morning by soft voices singing a chorale in the garden. About nine o'clock he entered his reception-room. A cantata composed by Riemer—a morning

¹ Grüner was with Goethe from September 1 to September 10, 1825. See pp. 205-223 of his book.—TR.

² The principal source of information as to the festivities of September 3, 1825, is a little book called *Weimar's Jubelfest*, Hoffmann, Weimar, 1825.—TR.

greeting from the Ilm—was sung by a very large choir of ladies. An hour later there was a general reception in Goethe's drawing-rooms, at which the Ministers, all the higher servants of the State, the Jena professors, and others, were present. Goethe received a gold medal commemorative of the day. It bore his bust and those of Karl August and Luise, and the words: "Karl August und Luise Goethen." This gift was accompanied by a letter, in which the Duke acknowledged the unaltered fidelity, affection, and steadfastness with which the friend of his youth had followed him through all the changes of his life, and said that to his living sympathy and continually willing service was due the fortunate issue of the weightiest enterprises. And to have won him for ever "I hold to be one of the noblest graces of my reign."

The Bürgermeister, on behalf of the City Council, handed in a deed which secured the citizenship of Weimar for ever to Goethe's son, grandsons, and all their male descendants. There were deputies from the Senate of Jena University, and from each of its Faculties. The Faculties of Philosophy and Medicine created him Doctor, and the former also granted him the right of conferring the degree on two persons; he chose Eckermann and Nicolovius. The Faculty of Law deplored that he had a doctor's degree from Strassburg;¹ the Faculty of Theology presented him with a votive address in the form of a diploma, in which it was acknowledged that Goethe, "as creator of a new spirit in science, and as a sovereign in the dominion of free and powerful thoughts, had mightily advanced the true interests of the Church and of evangelical theology." The one striking absence among all these greetings was that of the Senate of Goethe's native Frankfurt. Nor did the news of the festival move them to grant him the freedom of their

¹ He was only a licentiate, it will be remembered. Strassburg took no notice of Goethe on this day.—DÜNTZER.

city. About eleven o'clock the Court visited Goethe. Frau von Heygendorf was one of those who came. Karl August showed deep emotion : a brotherly embrace spoke more than words could have done.

The Duke caused a copy of his letter to Goethe to be put up in a public place. Goethe saw all the people in the street pressing in one direction, and sent Nicolovius to find out the cause ; when he heard that the Duke's letter to him had been made public, he exclaimed : " That is he ! " with tears of joy. In the great hall of the Library in the later part of the forenoon, about the time when Goethe was receiving the Court, there was a distinguished assembly to hear addresses from Müller and Riemer. There was a great banquet at the *Stadthaus* ; Goethe was not there, but was represented by August, who proposed the health of friend Knebel, who had brought his father to the Duke long ago. The poet had invited a charming circle of ladies to dine at his own house. In the evening *Iphigenie* was played at the Theatre. (A special reprint of the play had been published for the day.) When Goethe appeared in the Ducal box all the audience rose reverentially in their places, which moved him to tears. The prologue was by Chancellor von Müller. When the curtain rose, deafening applause greeted the scene disclosed—a hall with a laurel-crowned bust of the poet. By the advice of his physician Goethe went away after the termination of the third act. The city was illuminated, and Goethe was especially pleased by the illumination of the streets that lay between his house and the Theatre. His house was opened that evening for general hospitality as on the day of the jubilee of Karl August. And next morning, in order to utter his gratitude in the most expressive way, he sent his grandchildren from house to house to greet his true fellow-citizens in his name.

It was only by degrees that Goethe recovered strength

after the exertions of this day,¹ and then the numerous letters of thanks occupied much of his time. Meanwhile many further offers from booksellers had been coming in. Brönnert of Frankfurt offered 80,000 thalers. August wished to make capital out of this increase on Cotta's offer, and his action in the matter cannot be called straightforward. His father was unable to dissuade him from some rather shuffling dealing. Boisserée behaved admirably throughout, though August almost drove Cotta to extremity. In a letter dated January 3, 1826, Boisserée communicates in plain words that Cotta has rights of property in several of Goethe's works, and cannot give them up. Both sides must yield, he goes on; you must enlarge the period to which you wish to limit Cotta's rights, and on the other hand the contract must be understood to apply to a fixed number of copies. When Goethe received this letter he acknowledged the goodness of Boisserée in transmitting Cotta's arguments, but he maintained that in such arrangements the publisher has a great advantage over the author, inasmuch as he is thoroughly aware of his position, while the author is not. But he expressed his great wish to come to terms with Cotta, and submitted a new scheme of agreement.² After this all was arranged very fast. Cotta made the following final offer. He would pay 60,000 thalers for the forty volumes containing Goethe's poetic, æsthetic, literary, critical, and historical works. The limit of twelve years should stand. For the volumes containing the scientific works an extra sum proportionate to their size and number would be paid. If the pocket edition ran to 20,000 copies, there should be a special payment for the octavo edition. Accordingly, should Cotta sell 40,000 copies he would pay Goethe 120,000 thalers.

¹ Cp. Goethe to Zelter, November 26, 1825. Goethe to Boisserée, January 8, 1826.—TR.

² Goethe to Boisserée, January 12, 1826.—TR.

All this was communicated to Goethe by Boisserée in a letter intended for Cotta's inspection, dated January 21, 1826. In a letter dated two days later, but enclosed with the former one, Boisserée privately advised Goethe to accept this offer, for he believed that Cotta would otherwise go back to the old offer—to outbid other publishers by 10,000 thalers. August now, at any rate, saw that he must be content; but it was with emotion that Goethe recognised Boisserée's disinterested goodwill and honest and skilful dealing. On the 30th of January 1826 he replies: "Let your word be yea! yea! and accordingly 'yea and amen!'" and soon after the formal agreement was signed.

We go back here a little to observe that the death of the Emperor Alexander of Russia on December 1, 1825, had put Weimar Court in mourning, and in Goethe had roused feelings of tender personal regret.¹ And his oldest and dearest woman friend was now fast approaching the close of a life in which there had been so much labour and sorrow. At the time of the jubilee festivals there had been friendly greetings exchanged between Charlotte von Stein and Goethe, and Alfred Nicolovius had gone to see Charlotte at Goethe's wish.² During the year 1826 her little remaining strength failed, and, in the early days of 1827, the last spark of what had once been so fair and serene an existence went out.

In February and March 1826 Goethe was occupied with the announcement of the new edition. Yet his mood was an elevated one; the spirit for poetry came upon him anew, and

¹ Cp. Goethe to Schultze, December 18, 1825.—TR.

² Fritz Stein came to Weimar at the time of the Duke's jubilee. He almost certainly visited Goethe. Düntzer (*Charlotte von Stein*, ii. 505) thinks that it may have been during this stay in Weimar that Fritz received Goethe's letters from Charlotte. Frau von Ahlefeld, who was with Charlotte so much during her latest years, is the authority for the statement that Charlotte burned all her own letters, which Goethe had given back at her request.—TR.

he completed *Helena*. With this poem, which evidences such wonderful plastic power, Goethe meant to give special value to the first "Lieferung," or set of volumes of the new edition.¹

The spring, as it advanced, proved unfavourable to him. He caught a cold in his garden, and suffered long from its results. In the beginning of May 1826 Ottilie fell from a horse² and wounded her face badly, and the process of healing lasted a considerable time. Goethe would not see her until she was well, for, as he told Müller, such hateful impressions clung to him, and spoiled his remembrance ever after. Ottilie's bright presence was sadly missed by the old man, and the arrival of Boisserée on May 17, 1826, in itself a great pleasure, was the greater accordingly. Boisserée stayed until June 3, 1826. The presence of this well-tried friend, this fine and large-minded critic, was very dear to Goethe. He begged Boisserée to prolong his stay. "We shall not meet so young again; you do not know how much good your visit is doing me; all grows better and better the longer you are here; do wait a little while, do reconsider it." He was, indeed, in a very soft and melancholy mood. Boisserée thought August Goethe natural in manner and somewhat blunt (*derb*). Boisserée paid several visits to Ottilie. He went for the first time on Sunday, May 21. He found her in a room where the light fell through green blinds (*rouleaux*); her brow and nose and upper lip were covered with small bits of plaster. His impression of her was good.³ A little earlier that day he dined with August

¹ Goethe to Boisserée, August 26, 1826.—TR.

² Goethe to Zelter, May 10, 1826; Boisserée's Diary, May 17, 1826 (*Sulpiz Boisserée*, i. 471); Müller's *Unterhaltungen mit Goethe*, May 17, 1826.—TR.

³ "Frau von Goethe ist ein geistreiches, lebhaftes Wesen." The following are interesting:—"Eckermann, ein subordinirtes treues Männchen, voll hübschen Talents;" "Julie von Egloffstein, eine kolossale, malende Hofdame."—See Boisserée's *Diary*, *Sulpiz Boisserée*, i. 471-480.—TR.

Goethe and Ulrike von Pogwisch. From their talk Boisserée could see that the old man was completely "in the net" of the young folk. Goethe's chief delight was his second grandson, who was completely devoted to him;¹ while the elder, "by living and learning, had already been removed from the circle of grandfatherly affection."² The boys' tutor was one young Rothe, a divinity student.

In the later part of June we find Goethe in his Garden. On June 24, a lovely summer afternoon, Müller found him there with a few friends listening to the city band. In July 1826 Zelter and his daughter Doris came for a fortnight's³ visit, and roused the desire for music afresh. Goethe's literary labour at this time was the recasting of the *Wanderjahre*, which he had taken up after completing *Helena*; moreover, he was preparing a new number of *Kunst und Alterthum*. In his later years Goethe found much delight in reading *Le Globe*, a Parisian paper remarkable for fine culture, and for vivacity and *esprit*; the notice of Stapfer's translation of his dramatic works especially pleased him.⁴

In August 1826 the porcelain painter, Ludwig Sebbers

¹ It will be found interesting to refer to Eckermann's *Conversations with Goethe*, March 29, 1830.—TR.

² Goethe to Reinhard, December 26, 1825 (*Briefwechsel*, S. 261).—TR.

³ Zelter left Weimar on July 19, 1826. See Goethe to Müller, August 3, 1826 (*Goethe-Jahrbuch*, iii. 236).—TR.

⁴ Goethe to Reinhard, May 12, 1826; Goethe to Zelter, August 5, 1826. As to Goethe's general interest in *Le Globe*, many references might be given. I select the following:—Goethe to Reinhard, February 27, 1826; September 20, 1826; Goethe to Sternberg, September 19, 1826; Eckermann's *Conversations with Goethe*, June 1, 1826, October 3, 1828. In the letter of February 27 he tells Reinhard that the paper is sent to him, unordered, every post-day, the numbers since September 1824 having lately been forwarded to him, unordered also; he is spending his evenings in studying them.—TR.

of Brunswick, came to see Goethe, and showed him some of his work. Goethe felt so much confidence in the man, and liked him so well, as to yield to his urgent request and sit to him. The portrait, painted on a cup, was extraordinarily like.¹ On the following page we give the silhouette taken from a plaster cast of Goethe's face. Sömmering received it from Froriep, a physician who had been summoned to an appointment in Weimar in 1816 (Sömmering had returned to Frankfurt in 1820, and there had been a short revival of correspondence between him and Goethe).

Goethe was at this time in a very contented, happy mood. The following passage is taken from a letter to Alfred Nicolovius, dated August 11, 1826, and as yet unprinted :—" During the last three months I have taken consolation with my good daughter-in-law, and found her a source of consolation. She has suffered a great deal and suffered unpleasantly ; I have suffered much less since I have not been disturbed in that which is demanded of me, and which I myself must demand of myself."



FIG. 13. Sebbers's portrait of Goethe.
A new engraving.

¹ Goethe tells Meyer, September 27, 1826, that he sat to Sebbers probably twenty times, for hours or half hours ; even after the second baking of the cup he sat for retouching.—TR.

In September 1826 Ernst Schiller, August Goethe's special friend, came to Weimar to arrange family affairs.¹ During his stay Ernst had to take part in a rather strange ceremony. In March 1826, when the so-called treasury vault (*Cassengewölbe*) at the *Jacobskirchhof* was being cleared out, the Bürgermeister Schwabe, acting on the evidence of the gravedigger, had discovered Schiller's skull. Goethe recognised it by the beautiful horizontal setting of the teeth. It occurred to Chancellor von



FIG. 14. Goethe's Silhouette.

See p. 381. From the
Gedenkblätter an Goethe.

Müller that the skull might find a suitable resting-place inside the pedestal in the Library, on which Dannecker's bust of Schiller stood. Goethe reluctantly consented, after he had procured a cast of the skull. The ceremony took place on September 17, 1826. Ernst Schiller formally presented his father's skull to August Goethe for the Library. Goethe was not present, but a noble meditative poem is the memorial of the day.² The ceremony roused much unfavourable criticism. Writing to Boisseree, under date November 10, 1826, Goethe says:—

“The affair of the Schiller *reliques* cannot but be confessed to be in some measure open to attack, even by those who do not disapprove of what has been done, even by me, who, perceiving action to be necessary, had guided it and urged it on in quiet, and only retired when, contrary to my design, it was made a public matter. I add in confidence that for the present not only the skull, but all the bones of the

¹ Charlotte von Schiller had died in the summer of 1826 at Ernst's house in Bonn.—Tr.

² *Bei Betrachtung von Schiller's Schädel*, “Im ersten Beinhaus war's wo ich beschaute.”—Tr.

skeleton, brought together by the deliberative industry of our comparative anatomists, are deposited in proper arrangement in the Grand Ducal Library, in a seemly shrine. But now my agency will again interpose, and I hope that when these precious remains are interred, as I mean to have them, the whole fable will find a pleasing *dénouement*, and the undelightful middle terms will be gladly forgotten. I am silently at one with the Schiller family, and you, my dearest, shall be among the first to know my solution of the matter; it would give me pleasure if you guessed what, to tell the truth, is very obvious." Goethe had already begun to look forward to a place of burial in the graveyard that surrounded the *Fürstengruft*. Writing on January 19, 1827, he tells Boisserée how he has planned a "seemly shrine" near the royal vault, where his remains and those of Schiller, so strangely rescued, shall be placed together. His friends von Müller, Coudray, and Bürgermeister Schwabe, have undertaken to carry out this design, and all had been arranged during the presence in Weimar of Ernst Schiller, in September and October 1826.

During Ernst's presence Goethe began again to re-read for publication his correspondence with Ernst's father. Moreover, Goethe had begged back his own letters to Zelter,¹ in order to have them transcribed, and the transcripts inserted with the originals of Zelter's letters. Goethe used to read through these transcripts with Riemer in the evenings. He meant this correspondence to be published—the precious memorial of a long and beneficial friendship. Ernst Schiller left Weimar about the middle of October 1826. How deeply August Goethe felt the parting from this dear friend may be seen in the following words:—

¹ Goethe to Zelter, May 21, 1825. Observe that Riemer's preface, p. viii., is incorrect.—TR.

Abschied.

Bin ich den ganz allein?
 Ich habe Vater ja,
 Ich habe Frau,
 Ich habe Kinder auch,
 Doch keinen Freund!
 Er schied !!

Dein Goethe *f.*

Die Augenblicke waren theuer.

The revision of *Helena* occupied the poet a long time ; it remained when all the other contents of the first four volumes were already gone. On September 30, 1826, he writes to the philologist K. W. Götting, introducing to him "a beautiful lady." This refers of course to *Helena*. Goethe tells Götting that Riemer and he had been going over *Helena* until they were weary. For a good while Götting had been helping Goethe in the revision of the new edition ; he used to read through all the manuscript before it went to the printer. The letter in which Goethe first asks him for this aid is dated January 10, 1825.¹

The reader will remember that, after the completion of *Hermann und Dorothea* in March 1797, Goethe planned a second epic poem, very different from his first ; and in April 1797 he sketched its plot.² The design had never been carried out, and the papers had lain untouched for thirty years. Now that Goethe, after the dismissal of *Helena* from his attention, turned to the *Wanderjahre*, it occurred to him

¹ See the volume edited by Kuno Fischer, *Briefwechsel zwischen Goethe und K. Götting in den Jahren, 1824-1831* (München, 1880). K. W. Götting was a professor in Jena.—Tr.

² See pp. 151, 153, of this volume.—Tr.

to work up the plot designed for an epic into a tale for the *Wanderjahre*. Accordingly, towards the close of 1826,¹ he began to develop the graceful and touching story which we know as *Die Novelle*.

On November 22, 1826, Goethe writes to Boissérée: "I must tell you that in these days joy and hope have descended to us from above, since our eldest princess Marie [Karl August's grandchild], has been betrothed to Prince Karl of Prussia; thus, as last winter began with death and mourning, this begins with life and pleasure." Moreover, in December 1826 the presence in Weimar of Alexander von Humboldt, and later of his elder brother Wilhelm von Humboldt, brought a good deal of delight and interest into Goethe's life.³

The year 1827 is remarkable for a splendid revival of vigour and freshness in the old man, and the reawakening of the power of song. There was an abundant blossoming of lyric verse, and it is wonderful how slight and few in all this verse are the traces of the weakness of age, and how frequent vitality and excellence. The joy of having successfully wrestled with the difficulties of *Helena*, and the thought that the group of volumes forming the first "Lieferung" of his *Works* would appear at Easter, produced a kind of mental and bodily elation. But there was sorrow too. On January 6, 1827, Charlotte von Stein died in a gentle slumber that had lasted since the previous day. In her will she had left instructions as to her burial, and, knowing the soft heart of her old friend, she had directed that the funeral procession should not take the

¹ See Goethe to Wilhelm von Humboldt, October 22, 1826.—TR.

² Because of the death of the Emperor Alexander, already noticed. See p. 378 of this volume.—TR.

³ Alexander von Humboldt came, I think, on December 11, 1826. See Eckermann under that date. See, on the peculiar value of visits from men like the Humboldts, Goethe to Sulpiz Boissérée, December 30, 1826.—TR.

ordinary route along the *Frauenplan*, past his house. The civic undertaker, however, declared that it was contrary to all propriety that the funeral of one of high birth should take the side way. And so, on the afternoon of January 9, 1827, the sad procession moved along the familiar street. Goethe did not attend it, but sent August, as on the occasion of Wieland's burial. His grief was silent, but not therefore the less real.¹ "The year has in truth begun, as earthly years will, with a mingling of gladness and sorrow; yet the gladness outweighs, and we must acknowledge it with gratitude."²

On February 1, 1827, the Grand Duke brought the Crown-Prince of Prussia to see Goethe,³ who was greatly pleased with him; on February 4 the Prince came again, accompanied by his brothers Wilhelm and Karl. Goethe conceived the best hopes of the successor to the Prussian throne, and spoke with admiration of his good taste in art, of his intelligence, knowledge, and vivacity. There were very gay doings in Court and city just then, that lasted until the middle of February 1827. Goethe took no part in them. At the close of January 1827 he was at last able to send *Helena* to Cotta, and about the middle of February followed the new *Zahme Xenien*, which were to conclude the fourth volume. Thus the first "Lieferung" was disposed of, and the second lay "ready to be packed up."⁴ And now he was most intent on finishing his *Wanderjahre*. But at the same time we find him attracted by Chinese literature, reading Chinese fiction and poetry in translations,

¹ See Düntzer, *Charlotte von Stein*, the year 1827. Knebel's grief was very great.—TR.

² Goethe to Boissérée, January 19, 1827. This is the letter in which he tells Boissérée about the plan that he has formed as to his own burial. See p. 383.—TR.

³ Eckermann, February 1, 1827. (The English reader will correct the misprint *Russia* in Mr. Oxenford's translation.)—TR.

⁴ Goethe to Boissérée, February 17, 1827.—TR.

and talking to Eckermann about it.¹ The idea of a World Literature had grown more and more vivid in Goethe continually.² Meanwhile the pleasant spring weather seemed to promise an enjoyable summer.³ We find Goethe driving with Eckermann and observing the tender April green of the roadside cornfields.

Towards the end of April 1827 A. W. von Schlegel came to Weimar; on the evening of Tuesday, April 24, 1827, Goethe gave a large tea-party in his honour. The crowd was very great. Schlegel's fellow-traveller Lassen was also present. Eckermann relates that Schlegel was dressed with extreme neatness, and his appearance was so youthful and blooming that some of the guests present spoke of cosmetics. He was, however, quite surrounded by ladies, to whom he showed Indian curiosities. Goethe drew Eckermann to the window: "Now, how do you like him?" "Not better than I thought I should," replied Eckermann. "He is indeed," replied Goethe, "no true man; but we must bear with him a little because of his manifold learning and great merits."⁴ Next day, April 25, 1827, Eckermann dined with Goethe and Dr. Lassen. Lassen showed great knowledge of Indian poetry, and Goethe was very glad to have the opportunity of increasing his own very imperfect knowledge.

The author of that criticism in *Le Globe* of *Stapfer's*

¹ Eckermann, January 31, 1827. Servian poetry, too, interested Goethe just then. See Düntzer, *Goethe's lyrische Gedichte erläutert*, i. 407.—TR.

² It is interesting here to look back to Herder's instruction, vol. i. p. 140.—TR.

³ Eckermann, *Conversations with Goethe*, April 18, 1827.—TR.

⁴ Eckermann and Goethe had a very interesting conversation about Schlegel on March 28. Schlegel's injustice to Molière and Euripides in his *Lectures on Dramatic Literature* was the occasion of the conversation. Oxenford by mistake attributes the conversation to Soret.—TR.

Œuvres dramatiques de Goethe, which had given Goethe so much pleasure was J. J. Ampère the younger. From the ripeness and largeness of mind displayed in Ampère's study of the development of Goethe's mind and art, it had been conjectured by Goethe and Eckermann that the critic must be a man of mature years. It was, therefore, a great surprise to them when, in the later part of April 1827, Stapfer and Ampère came to Weimar, and the latter turned out to be a young man of twenty-seven.¹ No less surprise was it to hear that the other contributors to *Le Globe*, whose wisdom and moderation and high culture they had admired so often, were all young like Ampère.² Stapfer and Ampère dined twice, May, 4 and May 6, 1827, at Goethe's house. The old man listened with interest to Ampère's account of Mérimée, Alfred de Vigny, and other important talents. There was also a good deal said about Béranger, whose poetry had of late interested Goethe very much. At the second of these dinner-parties, Goethe made some valuable remarks about *Tasso* and *Faust*, and related how in 1797 he had planned an epic *Wilhelm Tell*. Just after this Karl von Holtei, whose *vaudevilles* were making a great stir, came to Weimar on his way back from Paris. He announced his arrival to Goethe, and received an invitation to dinner. His open-hearted fresh personality won the poet's liking.

On Saturday, May 12, 1827, Goethe went to visit his Garden House in the Park,³ and he found the place so delight-

¹ Ampère was born in 1800. Goethe makes a similar mistake about Carlyle's age, in a letter to Boisserée, September 25, 1827. Carlyle, he says, is probably middle-aged; he has made himself acquainted with German literature after a wonderfully penetrative *inner* fashion.—TR.

² Eckermann's expression of wonder gave occasion for an exposition by Goethe, of the value to literature and poetry of the *atmosphere*, the *milieu*.—TR.

³ Goethe to Zelter, May 24, 1827.—TR

ful in the fine spring weather that he decided to stay and live a while in the solitude for himself and literature, and escape the oppression of his domestic troubles. For Ottilie was sickly and out of tune, while August abandoned himself regardlessly to sensual pleasure. On May 15, 1827, Holtei went to see Goethe at the Garden, and found him in a very communicative mood, and mild, even melancholy. In the early part of this stay in the Garden Goethe began to write the Fourth Act of the Second Part of *Faust*—"at that point where Faust, descending from the antique cloud, meets his evil genius again." "Tell no one; but I confide to you that I mean to advance from this point, and fill in the blank until I reach the conclusion which has long been ready."¹ (*Faust* was finished in 1831, and was published after Goethe's death.) Another product of the weeks in the Garden is the beautiful little group of lyrics called *Chinesisch-Deutsche Jahres- und Tageszeiten*, a free adaptation of the clear, pure, calm manner of Chinese poetry, to the utterance of the inspiration of the sweet sights and sounds of a German spring. The long beautiful days were indeed filled with many occupations. In September, Goethe, when writing to Boisserée an account of his spring and summer, says of this time: "Thus May came and I was tempted to move into the Garden in the Park, which was of great use to me; for I pushed on with many an old piece of work, began some new, and won a great deal from the pure, though often interrupted quiet." One of the interruptions was a visit from his dear and honoured Princess Marie. She was soon to leave for Berlin with her husband Prince Karl. The parting was so sad to Goethe that he was unable to bid her farewell in verse.² The rainy weather at the close of May 1827 did not drive Goethe from the Garden,

¹ Goethe to Zelster, May 24, 1827.—TR.

² See Müller's *Unterhaltungen mit Goethe*, August 30, 1827.—TR.

and he continued there until the first week in June was past. Soon after Count Sternberg came to Weimar, and Goethe returned to town.¹ With Sternberg there were many conversations on natural science. "In our cabinet of fossils he was so good as to put in order a beautiful collection of plants of the primeval world, and thus for the first time their true value was given to them."² Goethe remained in Weimar after this, because, as he tells Zelter on July 17, 1827, he was so dependent on his literary-artistic surroundings. It had been comic to see what quantities of things had been dragged down to the Garden during the four weeks of his stay there. But such a love of the place had revived in him that every day he spent at least a few hours in it.

During July and August 1827 Goethe was occupied chiefly in enjoyment and criticism of the works of other men in art and literature, both those of Germany and of other countries. Perhaps his highest point of admiration and enthusiasm during the time was reached during the perusal of Manzoni's *I promessi sposi*. (He had written a preface for an edition of Manzoni's *Opere poetiche*, that was printed in Jena.³) Moreover, Goethe had plenty of official work. In the Jena institutions there were many things to be cared for—appointments to be made, thanks to be returned, the administration to be superintended. These institutions had received generous aid from the Grand Duke and the Crown-Princess. About this time the ducal contributions in aid of the Library were greatly

¹ On June 9, 1827, Goethe writes to Zelter: "Now I am going back to town to be always at hand for Count Sternberg when he can get free from his obligations to society and Court." Sternberg is gone when Eckermann calls on June 20.—TR.

² Goethe to Boisseree, October 12, 1827.—TR.

³ The full title is given, *Goethe und Zelter*, iv. 290. *Opere poetiche di Alessandro Manzoni, con prefazione di Goethe. Jena, per Federico Frommann, 1827.*—TR.

diminished ; Goethe thought of a plan for avoiding impoverishment. There were some private reading associations in Weimar. If the Superintendence joined these associations, it could exercise a control over the choice of books. The books would come to the Library as to a subscriber first, then they would circulate for a time among the members of the associations, and afterwards they could be purchased at half-price.¹ During this time Goethe's domestic life continued to have a good deal of trouble in it. Ottilie, who was suffering a great deal from her pregnancy, "found a slight in everything, saw defect of love and sympathy everywhere," and was in the most dreadfully nervous condition.

Goethe's birthday in the year 1827 brought a specially great pleasure. While receiving the good wishes of a circle of friends he was surprised by the entrance of the King of Bavaria, accompanied by Karl August. The king had arrived in Weimar the night before, and on that morning had declared that he came expressly for Goethe's birthday.² It is well known what a lover of art the king was, how penetrated with a feeling for the greatness of Germany. He gave Goethe the Grand Cross of the Order of Merit of Bavaria, and on this and the following day had the most intimate conversation with the poet, whom he astonished by sympathetic comprehension of, and by a complete acquaintance with all the history of his life. A week later *Staatsrath* Schukowsky, the tutor of the Czarewitch, manifested his reverence for Goethe after the most touching fashion.³ Again, a little later, the architect Zahn, who had just returned from Italy,

¹ Goethe to Karl August, July 5, 1827.—TR.

² Goethe to Boisseree, in the continuation of a letter begun on August 26, 1827 ; Goethe to Zelter, September 6, 1827. See *Sulpiz Boisseree*, ii. 478 ; *Goethe und Zelter*, iv. 368—TR.

³ See Müller, *Unterhaltungen mit Goethe*, Friday, September 7, 1827.—TR.

showed Goethe his tracings of Pompeian wall-paintings. Müller, visiting Goethe on the 11th of September 1827, found Zahn with him and the tracings spread out on the floor of the sitting-room. Goethe "revelled" in pleasure. "I edify myself by them," he said; "for I call it *edification* when we come on confirmation of what we hold to be right, and vouchers for it." On the morning of September 13 we find Goethe at a *déjeuner* given by the Cross-Bow Shooting Club. August proposed his toast of thanks for him.

There was indeed about this time a great revival of vigour in Goethe, and he was in the mood for enjoying things. Thus we find him taking delightful drives with Eckermann. On September 24, 1827, they started at eight o'clock on a beautiful morning along the up-hill road to Berka. A certain basket made of rushes in the bottom of the carriage attracted the good Eckermann's attention, and Goethe related how it came from Marienbad and how useful it had been in mineralogical excursions among the Bohemian mountains. But on this occasion it contained breakfast! And after descending a little valley and crossing the simple wooden bridge which spanned the dry channel of a rain torrent, the coachman was told to stop, and a napkin was spread on a road-side heap of stones, and the good things of the basket were disclosed. After this they spent an interesting day at Berka and Tonndorf. Goethe had a great deal to communicate: he talked especially of the Second Part of *Faust*, and Eckermann expresses deep regret that his diary only contains notes of what passed in the time before breakfast. Again, on September 26, 1827, they started early for the Hottelstedt Ecke, the most western height of the Ettersberg, thence to drive to the Ettersburg Castle. The details of this drive are given at considerable length by Eckermann. When they reached the western height they alighted, and breakfast was spread out on a grassy hillock.

Seated with their backs against the wind-beaten oaks of that high spot, they consumed a brace of roast partridges with new white bread, and drank good wine from a cup of gold that Goethe always carried with him. Before their eyes lay half Thüringen in the clear light of a September morning, a wide beautiful view on which Goethe had looked many a time in earlier years, and every point on the landscape was the centre of recollections. After lingering thus some time they drove on along the northern side of the Ettersberg to the Castle of Ettersburg, how bright and cheerful once, now silent and lonely. Goethe had the rooms opened, and told Eckermann how Schiller had formerly lived for a while in one of them.¹ Afterwards he led the way along a footpath through the wood to a spot where, fifty years before, in the time of the good Duchess Amalia, they had all cut their names on a beech. Around this beech, in the beautiful summer evenings, they had played farces and been young and joyous. The spot was now damp and cheerless, being overshadowed by the growth of the trees, and the names on the old beech could only be read with difficulty.

On the day before (September 25, 1827) Goethe had had a melancholy reminder of Schiller. The King of Bavaria, who had visited the *Fürstengruft* and the Library, had been very ill content with the way in which Schiller's bones were preserved. Like opinions having reached Karl August from other quarters, we find him writing to Goethe: "I consider it advisable that they [Schiller's bones], inclusive of the head, of which first a cast should be taken, enclosed in the casket that they lie in now, should, for the present, be placed and preserved in the family vault that I have built for my race at the new graveyard here, until Schiller's family shall have provided some other disposition of them." Now Goethe had constantly

¹ See page 184 of this volume.—Tr.

borne in mind the plan of having a place of burial erected for Schiller and himself in the neighbourhood of the *Fürstengruft*. We find him writing on January 27, 1827, that Coudray is making sketches for the "Twin Monument as it is to be according to our common invention and arrangement."¹ It probably was Goethe who persuaded Karl August to have the bones of Schiller placed in a *coffin*. This was done on December 16, 1827. The coffin, prepared according to Goethe's directions, was of oak, stained dark, with rings and rosettes of tempered blue steel; on the front was simply the name in golden letters. It was laid at the foot of a step that was meant to receive the Duke's coffin in time to come.

On the morning of Sunday, October 7, 1827, Goethe and Eckermann set out for Jena, where they intended to stay until the evening of the following day. (It is curious to think that four whole years had passed since Goethe last visited Jena, when returning from Marienbad in September 1823.) The friends arrived early, and went to see the Botanical Garden, where Goethe surveyed the shrubs and plants, and found all in beautiful order. After looking over the Mineralogical Cabinets and other scientific collections they drove to Knebel's, where they were expected to dinner. The meeting between the old friends (Knebel was eighty-three, Goethe seventy-eight) was very affectionate; Knebel in his haste almost stumbled to the door to fold Goethe in his arms. After dinner Goethe and Eckermann drove southwards up the pretty valley of the Saale. When they returned to the streets of Jena Goethe ordered the coachman to drive along the *Backgasse* and made him stop at an unpretentious house. This was classic ground: it was the house that Voss had lived in, and Goethe conducted Eckermann through the house and among the garden fruit-trees, and talked of the pleasant

¹ Goethe to Sulpiz Boisserée, January 27, 1827.—TR.

evenings that he had spent there with Voss and the good Ernestine.¹ By this time it was six o'clock, and they went to their quarters at "The Bear." They had a large room, with an alcove containing two beds. They sat in the pleasant autumn twilight for a time without candles, and Goethe talked of Voss and Schiller. Soon candles and supper appeared, but Goethe's communicative companionable mood lasted, and they chatted until healthy weariness made sleep delightful. Next day (Monday, October 8, 1827) they rose early and went first to the Anatomical Cabinet. Then they drove to the Observatory, and, moreover, visited the adjacent Meteorological Cabinet. After this they went down into the garden, where Goethe had caused a little breakfast to be laid out upon a stone table in an arbour. "You hardly know what a remarkable place we are sitting in," he said to Eckermann. "It was here that Schiller lived. In this arbour, on these seats, we have often sat at this old stone table and have exchanged many a good and great word."² He was in the thirties then, I in the forties, both full of enthusiasms. That has all passed away, and I am not what I was, but the old earth remains still, and air and water and land are still the same." After Eckermann had gone upstairs and gazed on the windings of the beautiful Saale from Schiller's windows, they went to the chemist Döbereiner, whom Goethe esteemed highly on account of his beautiful discoveries.³ It was noon by this time. They resolved not to return to dine at "The Bear," but to enjoy the splendid day out of doors. There was a little inn at Burgau where they could get some fish, and they had wine in the carriage. All turned out delightfully. The drive brought

¹ Compare page 210 of this volume.—TR.

² See page 163 of this volume.—TR.

³ And a new kind of flue, invented by him and named after him, had interested Goethe a good deal.—DÜNTZER.

them past those thickets and windings of the Saale that Eckermann had seen from Schiller's windows. The landlady at Burgau apologised for having nothing ready, but they should soon have some soup and some good fish. They waited for dinner in the sunshine on the bridge. The scene was full of cheerfulness. On the other bank was the little town of Lobeda; the river was covered with pine rafts that shot beneath the bridge, guided by noisy merry raftsmen. When their fish was ready it was served to them in the open air, and they remained chatting pleasantly over their wine until the sun, drawing near the summits of the western hills, warned them of the lapse of time. The carriage was called, they returned to Jena, and, after settling their account at "The Bear" and paying a short visit to Frommann, drove quickly back to Weimar.

Soon after Zelter came for a short visit.¹ Then Hegel, now a man of wide fame, came to Weimar. Goethe, with a great personal esteem for Hegel, did not want to know anything of his philosophy.² But Hegel was a warm adherent to Goethe's Theory of Colour. We find Goethe venturing to the Theatre once more at this time. The attraction was a performance of Mozart's opera *Die Zauberflöte* (*Il Flauto Magico*). He tells Zelter that it yielded him little pleasure because the performance was faulty, *and* because he was not as receptive

¹ Zelter left on October 18. There was a tea-party in honour of Hegel at Goethe's house. Eckermann tells us that in the midst of the cheerful talk Zelter rose and went out without saying a word. Those present knew that it pained him to take leave of Goethe, and this was his delicate expedient for avoiding the pain.—TR.

² To Chancellor von Müller Goethe said, on July 16, 1827: "Of the Hegelian philosophy I do not want to know anything, although Hegel himself pleases me. I have in any case already got all the philosophy that I shall need until my end—indeed, properly speaking, I do not need philosophy at all."—TR.

for such things as he had been.¹ The anxiety that Ottilie's suffering during her pregnancy had caused came to an end when, on October 29, 1827, she bore a pretty daughter, whom they called Alma Sedina Henriette Cornelia.

During that part of the year 1827 subsequent to his birthday Goethe had been working on the First Act of the Second Part of *Faust*. He wished to publish in his *Works* the beginning of this First Act, as far as the scene *Lustgarten* (*The Pleasure Ground*). He worked steadily, and as his health remained pretty good he was able to send it to the printer on January 24, 1828. We find Goethe writing bright little lyric trifles at this time. Thus he addresses to Karl August at the beginning of the New Year 1828—the last New Year for Karl August—the lines beginning: “Fehlt der Gabe gleich das Neue, Sei das Alte nicht veraltet,” and he inscribed three little poems in the album of his “tried” friend the Countess Caroline von Egloffstein. In an album which he gave to a Frau Kammerherr von Mandelsloh, *née* von Milkau, he wrote two short poems, one a dedication. We give facsimiles at the end of this volume. A little later, Count Brühl, the Intendant of the Royal Theatre of Berlin, requested permission to use Goethe's poem, *Hans Sachsens poetische Sendung*, as a prologue to Deinhardstein's play *Hans Sachs*. Goethe replies to Brühl on January 17, 1828. He has recited aloud the poem deliberately, as it should be recited before the public, and he finds that it occupies about twelve minutes. As the poem contains the description of a painting, some introduction is desirable to avoid abruptness. On January 26, Goethe forwarded the introductory poem to Brühl.²

At this time Holtei appeared in Weimar again; he delivered

¹ Goethe to Zelter, November 6, 1827.—TR.

² See Hempel's *Goethe*, xi. 264.—TR.

recitations. The kindness of friends secured him a considerable attendance at these recitations. The old poet gave him, as before, a friendly reception. And Holtei won over August Goethe completely by reading aloud *Faust* in an adaptation that he had made. According to Holtei's account August was so much delighted that he rushed up to him, seized both his hands, and, with tears in his eyes, cried: "I will tell my father that there is a great deal in *Faust* that I never understood until to-day!" Whatever the truth of this may be, it is certain that they formed a very intimate friendship, like that of sentimental, crack-brained students.¹ Moreover, Holtei was on friendly footing with Ottilie, her mother, and her grandmother. But Goethe could not approve of Holtei's trimming of *Faust*.

The winter weather did not prevent Goethe from going out to drive occasionally; we find him looking forward with great hope to the coming of spring. His chief occupation was finishing the *Wanderjahre*. The negotiation with Cotta about the Schiller-Goethe correspondence was at length brought to a conclusion through the good offices of Boisserée.² During the spring the Garden was constantly visited; and the old man, now seventy-eight, ventured again to the opera. But the great drum, which made the whole house roar and rattle to the rafters,³ made him afraid to go there any more. His interest in the external world of Literature and Art remained vivid as ever. Beside the French and English periodicals he now received an Italian one—*L'Eco* of Milan.⁴

¹ "Burschikos" is the expressive adjective which I endeavour to translate by a phrase. The German student has been described so often that it is not needful to enlarge on him here.—TR.

² And on Sunday, April 6, 1828, Goethe despatched the manuscript to Cotta. Goethe to Boisserée, April 7, 1828.—TR.

³ Goethe to Zelter, April 22, 1828.—TR.

⁴ Goethe to Zelter, May 21, 1828.—TR.

As for his own work, it was needful to get the *Wanderjahre* ready for the fifth "Lieferung" of the new edition. Moreover, he felt a great wish to complete *Faust*. He did at this time succeed in writing the earlier part of the Second Act. Another of his plans was the publication of a careful French translation by Soret of the *Metamorphosis of Plants*, with historical addenda. It was Soret who called his attention to the book by De Candolle, *Organographie Végétale*, which had appeared in 1827. Very remarkable is the pleasure shown by Goethe in observing how three different nationalities—French, Scotch, and Russians—take his *Helena* in different ways. "The Scot," he writes to Zelter, "seeks to penetrate into the work; the Frenchman to understand it; the Russian to appropriate it. In German readers perhaps all three will be found together."¹ And when his enthusiastic admirer the King of Bavaria sent his Court painter Stieler to paint his portrait, the old man felt much pleasure in the great honour. Stieler was amiable, and had a cultivated mind; and Goethe liked him.²

Karl August had been poorly for some time. A journey to Berlin—to greet his little great-grandchild, born March 20, 1828—had been delayed and delayed in consequence. But he would not give it up; and towards the close of May 1828 he started. When he took leave of Goethe with his usual cordiality, little did the friends guess that it was their final parting. The Duke finished his visit, and was on his return journey (he had reached Graditz, near Torgau) when death overtook him. He was standing at an open window when the stroke came. This was on June 14, 1828.

The sad news arrived in Weimar on the following day.

¹ Goethe to Zelter, May 21, 1828.—TR.

² See the beginning of Goethe's letter to Zelter, No. 597. *Goethe und Zelter*, v. 53.—TR.

It was a Saturday. Goethe sat at table with his family and some guests. In the adjoining Garden Room some Tyrolese were singing. August Goethe was called out. When he came back he dismissed the singers, and then proposed that they should leave table, as they would wish to go to the opera *Oberon* that evening. Goethe thought the haste very odd (it was scarcely four o'clock); however, he yielded, and the guests dispersed through the rooms. Very soon August succeeded in getting them all away; and he was left to break the news to his father alone. The blow was too hard. "I saw Goethe late in the evening," writes Eckermann. "Before I went into his room I heard him sighing and talking to himself. . . . He refused all consolation. 'I had thought to depart before him, but God disposes as He sees best, and nothing remains for us poor mortals but to endure and hold ourselves erect as long as we can and as well as we can.'" The body was brought with military and royal honours to Weimar, to the "Roman House" in the Park, which the Duke had been so fond of. Here it was to remain until the funeral, which was delayed by the absence in St. Petersburg of the new Grand Duke. The Grand Duchess Luise was at the time in Wilhelmsthal. She caused the news of the Duke's death to be formally communicated to Goethe by Soret. Goethe replied immediately: "Present my most emphatic respects to Madame the Grand Duchess. My sentiments need no words, and my emotions can find none. If I might at all venture on it I should be in Wilhelmsthal already."¹ He was unable to give any utterance in poetry to his grief. On June 20 he writes to Soret: "I find myself in a strange mental condition, which permits no steady, continued attention, and accordingly I work off many isolated things which really have to be done,

¹ Goethe to Soret, June 17, 1828. Uhde, *Goethes Briefe an Soret*, Stuttgart, 1877.—TR.

and I arrange various matters which were in confusion, in order to become aware that there is still something in the world in which it is possible to be interested." But the desolation in his heart was terrible. His best source of relief was the book by De Candolle to which Soret had called his attention. Farther on in the letter which we have been quoting he writes of this book: "Open it where I will, it reminds me of my old friend, eternally forming and re-forming Nature, from whom we receive our life, and to whom we return it." Though his physician Dr. Vogel declared in favour of his going to Wilhelmsthal, he felt unfit to see the Grand Duchess so soon, and unable to bear the fatigue of appearing at Court. Moreover, Stieler wanted to put the last touches to the portrait, which had been successfully grounded before the Duke's death, and Goethe held it a disposition of fate that this necessity excluded his power of choice.¹ He sent his eldest grandson Walther to Wilhelmsthal to visit the Hereditary Prince, who was of about the same age. Not until June 28, 1828, was he able to send a letter of consolation to the mourning widow. "Even this meagre thing has cost me a great deal," he writes to Soret; "for I shrink from touching with words on what we cannot bear to feel." Then he goes on: "Meanwhile let me speak of the beneficial influence of our botanical project."² On waking in the morning, a moment at which so great a loss always grows vivid anew, I seize the work of M. de Candolle."

Stieler's picture became a very noble one. Goethe observes that the painting of the final touches had been strangely

¹ Goethe to Soret, June 21, 1828.—TR.

² The project of translating the *Metamorphosis of Plants* into French, with which, of course, the study of the *Organographie Végétale* was closely linked.—TR.

favoured by the exaltation which passion brings.¹ He could not bear to stay in Weimar any longer; he *must* fly to Nature and seek restoration in solitude; moreover he dreaded the funeral, which was to take place on July 9, 1828.

With the permission of the Chief Court Marshal's Office he left Weimar on July 7, 1828. He dined at Jena with his old friend and fellow-mourner Knebel, and then went on to the Ducal residence Castle Dornburg, where, however, he did not reside in the principal Castle. Four years before Karl August had purchased a property adjoining the Ducal gardens. The name of the former owner of this property was Stomann. And it was in the little "Stomann Castle" ("*Stomann'sches Schloss*") that Goethe took up his abode. He lived and slept in the so-called *Bergstube*, from which he enjoyed a lovely view, three windows opening to the south and one to the west. He writes the following description of the place to Zelter on July 10, 1828: "I do not know whether Dornburg is familiar to you. It is a little town on the rise in the valley of the Saale, below Jena; outside it a series of castles . . . have been built at the most various times; and pretty gardens surround pleasure-houses. I am stopping in the little old castle at the southern end; it has been re-fitted lately. The prospect is noble and gladdening; the flowers bloom in the well-cared gardens; the vine-arbours are hung with rich clusters; and beneath my window I see a smiling vineyard, which was planted on a very desolate slope three years ago by him who is dead. . . . On the other sides the rose-arbours are fairy-like in their lovely decking, and the mallows and what not all blooming and bright; and everything is seen by me in heightened colours, like the rainbow on a dark-gray ground.

¹ Goethe to Boisserée, Weimar, July 6, 1828. We are familiar in England with Stieler's picture. It is prefixed to Mr. Lewes's *Life of Goethe*.—TR.

During fifty years I have often enjoyed life on this spot with him, and I could spend this time on no spot where the evidences of his activity present themselves to the senses with more insistent charm."

Goethe had brought with him to Dornburg his servant Friedrich and his secretary J. John. His meals were provided by the Court-gardener Sckell, whom he had known during the last twelve years. From Sckell¹ we learn the particulars of Goethe's simple mode of life. As a rule he rose at six o'clock, and partook of coffee immediately. At seven o'clock he summoned his secretary and dictated until eight o'clock, sometimes until half-past eight. Then he walked on the terraces or in the garden until half-past nine; then breakfasted. After breakfast he dictated again or went down into the garden, if he was not prevented by early visitors. About eleven, as a rule, visitors came, and those who came dined with him. Dinner was served usually at half-past two, and lasted until four. Then the visitors used to go away, and Goethe went into the gardens again, where he remained until half-past five, when he ate some white French bread and drank some wine. After that he stayed in his room or, in fine weather, paced up and down the gardens repeatedly. Sckell never found him seated when in the gardens. In the evenings he read the letters that had come and signed those that he had dictated during the day. He went to bed at nine or half-past nine. Sckell, who could enter his room when he chose, observed that he lay on his back, gazing upwards, his hands outside the coverlet, folded on his breast as if for prayer. And in the early morning the hands were in the same position, and his first gaze on awaking was upward. The deep and sweet sleep that he enjoyed was evidenced by the undisturbed state of the couch. He was

¹ Sckell, *Goethe in Dornburg*, Jena und Leipzig, H. Costenoble, 1864, 48 pp.—Tr.

very temperate, and ate and drank by rule, and during all the time in Dornburg enjoyed perfect health.¹

His visitors were numerous. Every week Ottilie and her children two or three times; August not so often. Others who came were Chancellor von Müller, and Frommann the publisher, and the celebrated translator Gries, and President von Ziegesar, and von Motz, and many Weimar and Jena friends besides; the Weimar folk less often, because the drive to Dornburg and back was a pretty long day's excursion. Some foreigners also came, among them the two sons of the Duke of Wellington.

In the early days of his residence in Dornburg Goethe received a letter which gave him great happiness. The new Grand Duke and his Duchess were, as we have seen, in Russia when Karl August died. From the Imperial Castle at Paulowsk, where they were staying, they commissioned Lieutenant-Colonel von Beulwitz to write on their behalf to Goethe, inquiring after his welfare and expressing their sympathy. (The Grand Duke placed the Middle Castle at his disposal, but Goethe preferred to stay in the "Stomann Castle," and the Middle Castle was only used by him in so far that he saw visitors of rank in its reception-room.) The remarkable letter in which he replies to Beulwitz was written on July 18, 1828. The greater part of the letter is an exposition of the charm that Dornburg has for him at the time—all the external loveli-

¹ To Eckermann he said: "I enjoy good days and good nights here. Often before dawn I am awake, and lie by the open window to feast on the splendour of the three planets that now stand together in the heavens, and to refresh myself with the increasing brilliance of the morning-red. Then I spend almost the whole day in the open air, and hold spiritual converse with the tendrils of the vine, which speak good thoughts to me, and of which I could tell you strange things. Moreover, I have begun to write poems again, which are not bad; and I would it were granted me to live on everywhere in this frame."—TR.

ness of its gardens and vineyards and wide prospects is bound close with memories that illuminate grief and render hope and patience reason. But, returning from the general outer world of things to his own individual and intimate being, he can most sincerely acknowledge "that it is a consistent deduction from the foregoing thoughts that I can in no better way prove my unchangeable fidelity to the noble departed than if, after the same fashion, devoted to the revered new-comer in his place, I expressly pledge myself to appropriate all that in me is to him, his noble house, and his dominions." This was Goethe's free homage to his new sovereign.

The first occasion of which we have record on which Goethe left the precincts of Castle Dornburg was a visit to Jena on July 20, 1828. Writing to Zelter on July 27, 1828, Goethe says that on the evening of the 20th, when returning from Jena, he was caught in such a downpour of rain as he had never seen the like of before.¹ It was a precursor of the bad weather to come. Again, on August 2, 1828, a lovely day,² accompanied by Dr. Stichling, a grandson of Wieland,³ he drove to the little village of Grossheringen, near the confluence of the Ilm and the Saale, went to see the salt-manufactory there, and visited the village-mayor Planert, with whom he had been acquainted formerly.

¹ *Goethe und Zelter*, v. 79. He mentions this again in letter of August 26, 1828, *ibid.* v. 100.—Tr.

² Goethe to Soret, Sunday, August 3, 1828.—Tr.

³ To the kindness of Herr Professor Düntzer I owe the following note, which will prevent confusion:—The father of the Dr. Stichling above mentioned had married first a daughter of Wieland, and, after her death in 1809, had married Luise, Herder's daughter. The Dr. Stichling with whom Goethe went to Grossheringen was one of the children of Wieland's daughter. See Goethe to Knebel, August 18, 1828. (The "State Councillor Stichling," whom the English reader will remember in Bayard Taylor's essay *Weimar in June*, "a grandson of Herder," would be a child of the second marriage.)—Tr.

On the same day, after his return to Dornburg, he had a visit from a party of Jena friends—Frommann, and Frommann's aunt Betty Wesselhöft, Gries, and Frau von Löw, and her charming daughter Luise. He was very bright and friendly, and for almost two hours talked with wonderful animation of a wide circle of men and things and situations.¹ The enthusiastic delight with which the young girl hung on his words moved him. He stroked her arm with his and said: "Ay, when we rub against youth we grow young again ourselves!"²

Goethe's chief intellectual preoccupation continued to be the design of translating and re-editing his *Metamorphosis of Plants*. On Sunday, August 3, he sends to Soret a plan of their proposed work, and informs him that he has read through the whole of the *Organographie Végétale*; indeed, has read through the parts which concern them several times, and has, besides, translated the section which De Candolle calls *Symétrie Végétale*. Closely connected with this botanical study was the interest in the cultivation of the vine that we find Goethe manifesting. A new method in this branch of husbandry had been expounded by J. S. Kecht of Berlin, and Goethe, in the midst of vineyards, felt "compelled" to put Kecht's proposals to the test by practice, and to ascend from them to primary physiological truths.³

The pleasant garden-life at Dornburg began to suffer interruption. Under date August 9, 1828, Goethe tells Zelter that during the last week they have had a great deal of wild wet weather, "and to-day it is particularly bad." This stormy

¹ See Frommann's letter to Stüve, quoted in the section called *Goethe in Dornburg* in the *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, Band ii. S. 320-22. See also Goethe to Soret, August 3, 1828.—Tr.

² *Das Frommannsche Haus* [Jena, 1870], S. 39.—Tr.

³ Goethe to Soret, August 13, 1828. But he speaks of the subject in earlier letters. On August 18, 1828, he tells Knebel that he has been three weeks concerned about it.—Tr.

weather continued with only trifling intermissions. On August 18 Goethe tells Knebel that he has sent his carriage home—this was a reply to Knebel's remark in a letter of August 14 : "And if your horses can bear it, do let them once again find the way to us." But the roads on the heights were hard to traverse, and the hill to be ascended from Jena to Dornburg was steep, and accordingly Knebel must be content with a long letter and the prospect of seeing Goethe on his way back to Weimar. On Thursday, August 21, 1828, the Hereditary Prince of Weimar, a boy of ten, accompanied by Soret, visited Dornburg. Beside the excursions to Grossheringen and to Jena we know through Sckell of one other instance of Goethe's leaving Dornburg during his residence there ; he went to the *Thurmberg*, a hill close to the roadside, near the village of Camburg, celebrated for the lovely prospect that it commands.

During his stay in Dornburg Goethe wrote some beautiful lyrics.¹ On August 25, 1828, as he watched the rising moon, he thought with yearning of his beloved Marianne. Their friendship had not been weakened by time ; they had remained in uninterrupted intercourse during the years that had elapsed since their final parting.

The 28th of August and the 3d of September, days of such precious association to the student of Goethe's life, were now at hand. The old poet had no doubt as to the rightful course on this occasion. "I have petitioned against and for-

¹ According to the extract from Goethe's *Diary* quoted by Ludwig Geiger in his article *Goethe in Dornburg* in the *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, ii. 317, the Dornburg poems are—(1) *Dem aufgehenden Vollmonde*, alluded to above ; (2), "Früh wenn Thal, Gebirg und Garten ;" (3) *Der Bräutigam* ; and (4) "Und wenn mich am Tag die Ferne." To these may be added the translation of the inscription over the gate of the Stomann Castle (letter to Beulwitz) and the lines for the burial of his old actor P. A. Wolff, "Mögt zur Gruft ihn senken." See Düntzer, *Goethes lyrische Gedichte*, i. 417, 418.—TR.

bidden any trace of festivity that might be designed for the 28th of August," he tells Zelter on August 26, 1828. But the Art Exhibition of the Drawing Academy ought, as usual, to be opened on Karl August's birthday; he would feel guilty of impiety if he did not use his influence to have this done.¹ The 3d of September was, moreover, the occasion of a very solemn festival—the Lodge in Memory of the Duke, as a Brother Mason. Goethe could not be present in person, but he was present by his counsel and sympathy.²

In the beginning of September 1828 Zelter begs for Goethe's explanation of the wild weather that had prevailed of late. Thus he was led to the study of Meteorology anew. He wrote a long letter to Zelter on the subject, giving him meteorological notes from the evening of September 6 to September 10, 1828.³

Meanwhile a wonderful restoration to health and tranquillity had taken place; and when he learned on September 8, 1828, that the Grand Duke was to return to Weimar on September 14, he made ready and left Dornburg on the morning of Thursday, September 11, 1828, breakfasted at a village on the way, and arrived in Weimar at two o'clock, in the very finest weather, looking very well, and quite brown from the sun. An admirably conceived birthday gift awaited him. The Grand Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz had bought the old clock which had once stood in Goethe's paternal home in Frankfurt. The Duke had sent the clock to August Goethe, asking him to bring it into the house on the morning of August 28. It was the Duke's design that Goethe should

¹ Goethe to Meyer, August 1, 1828. *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, ii. 342.—TR.

² Another whose memory was honoured at this Lodge was Hildebrand von Einsiedel, who was such a well-known and honoured member of the Weimar circle. Born in 1750, he died July 9, 1828.—TR.

³ *Goethe und Zelter*, v. 111-114.—TR.

be first made aware of the gift by hearing its once familiar voice when he awoke on his birthday morning; after that August might hand to his father the letter which the Duke enclosed. Goethe's absence in Dornburg spoiled this plan; he received the Duke's letter there, and wrote his letter of thanks on September 3,¹ 1828.

Goethe had reached his home just in time to sit down to dinner in the room next the garden. The doors stood open and admitted the pleasant autumn day, and Goethe was very bright, and told of the many visits and presents that he had had, and jested lightly. But Eckermann could perceive an undercurrent of seriousness, of embarrassment, such as one feels on returning from a free holiday life to the old every-day position, where old duties, old relations, make their claim, and there is a certain feeling of strangeness and difficulty; it is hard to realise the force of the old motives. Moreover, Goethe had not seen any grown-up members of the reigning family since Karl August's death; this agitation was all before him. While he was dining a message came from the now Dowager Grand Duchess to say that she was coming to him, as usual, on the following Tuesday. And the new Grand Duchess visited him, as before, on every Thursday forenoon. Painful as the first meeting with the Princesses after so great a loss must have been, the old poet knew how to brace himself and be courageous.

Another reason for that seriousness which Eckermann observed in Goethe has to be mentioned. He had promised to give the fifth "Lieferung" of the new edition to the printer at Christmas 1828. This "Lieferung" was to contain the re-modelled *Wanderjahre*. So much new matter was to be added that the book would run to three volumes. A great deal had to be done; and all the summer, which Goethe had

¹ This letter of thanks is in Strehlke's *Verzeichniss*, i. 434-435.—TR.

meant to devote to the novel, had been spent otherwise in consequence of the death of Karl August. Only a few months now remained ; and even during those months Goethe feared a good deal of disturbance from the visits of men of science returning from the meeting at Berlin. In this state of anxiety he felt vividly the merits of the power of concentration, the independence of external conditions, the intensity of Schiller.¹ After all, however, the first two volumes of the *Wanderjahre* were sent off in good time, and he went to work on the third volume. Among the men of science who visited Goethe the one who most interested him was the naturalist Martius.²

Unfortunately about this time August Goethe had again fallen into a life of licentiousness, and the breach between him and Ottilie was dreadfully painful. When Ottilie was in Karlsbad in the spring of 1828 August had gone so far that Ulrike, on returning from Berlin, would not stay in the same house with him, and went to her mother. This circumstance was the origin of a violent quarrel, and the poor father suffered deeply. And yet August was careful and diligent in his management of the household economy and in his supervision of the scientific collections. He had made a beautiful collection of the fossils of the neighbourhood ; they were kept in a detached pavilion in the garden.³ He prepared a catalogue of these fossils, which shows what an admirable sense for order he possessed. Another activity of August's, and one which gave his father much pleasure, was the collec-

¹ See the close of Eckermann's entry for September 11, 1828. It is one of the utterances of Goethe which helps us to see very clearly what a complement to his nature Schiller's was.—TR.

² Besides the mention of Martius in Eckermann, see Goethe to Boisseree, December 15, 1828. Goethe had an interesting visit from Tieck and his wife and daughters in October 1828.—TR.

³ Soret speaks of this collection under September 26, 1828. Correct his note by Goethe's letter to Soret, 8th September 1829.—TR.

tion of medals which bore relation to good and remarkable men.

In the December of 1828, and during the first two months of 1829, Goethe remained within doors. For a good while he dined in his workroom alone, or with one guest. This was partly because of the family dissension. He was working hard at the third volume of the *Wanderjahre* during this time. And on February 20, 1829, he told Eckermann, who was dining with him, that he had finished the novel, and meant to send it to the printer on the following day. And then he began to work at the papers which recorded the history of his *Second Residence in Rome*.¹ He had now ceased to care to continue *Kunst und Alterthum*, and dropped it before the sixth volume was complete. For he had begun to think that he was influencing general public opinion very little in proportion to the labour expended.² Soret's translation of the *Metamorphosis of Plants* had pleased Goethe very much; it was necessary to revise the manuscript carefully, and during the years 1829 and 1830, and the beginning of 1831, we find him frequently engaged in this task.³ On June 5, 1829, Goethe bade farewell to the Princess Auguste of Saxe-Weimar, who was on the eve of starting for Berlin to marry her betrothed Prince Wilhelm of Prussia. The lady, who is at present (1883) Empress of Germany, had made a remarkable impression in her youth on the great poet of the Germans. He writes to Zelter on June 5, 1829, that "she is a personality

¹ Goethe had first taken out these papers in 1820 (as he tells us in the *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte* for that year), but the task of working them up had seemed too difficult, and they had been laid aside again. In May 1828 he tells Zelter that he is dictating at the "*Märchen*" of his *Second Residence*. Consult Düntzer's preface to the *Italiänische Reise*.—TR.

² See Müller's *Unterhaltungen mit Goethe*, May 17, 1829.—TR.

³ See Goethe's letters to Soret during the time.—TR.

of as much real significance as amiability.”¹ And later in the summer, Zelter having related how he had seen and talked with the Princess, Goethe writes from the solitude of the Garden in the Park: “And now to speak of the most pleasant topic last! It is a great pleasure to me that Princess Auguste has impressed you so favourably with her excellences; she unites feminine qualities with royal in such a perfect manner that we are really struck with astonishment, and a mixed emotion of reverence and affection arises within us.” Goethe lived for a good while in his Garden that summer; but there was not, as in other years, a blossoming of lyric poetry, induced by the loveliness of the spot.² August, whose conduct had grown more temperate, was now thinking seriously of a journey to Italy in the coming spring. Ulrike had returned to live with the Goethes again.

Goethe was still living in the quiet Garden when, on August 18, 1829, the celebrated Polish poet Adam Mickiewicz, accompanied by a friend named Odyniec, came to Weimar, bearing letters of introduction from Madame Szymanowska addressed to Ottilie and to Goethe. Ottilie received the Poles with graceful friendliness, and sent Madame Szymanowska’s letter to Goethe. On August 19 the friends were received at noon by the old poet in the Garden.³ They dined with him

¹ “Sie ist wirklich so bedeutend als liebenswürdig.”—TR.

² Goethe was at the time very busy with the *Second Residence in Rome*. See his letter to Zelter, July 18, 1829.—TR.

³ In the letter of August 20, 1829, in which Goethe tells Zelter of the visit of Mickiewicz, he also speaks of the interesting visit of Crabb Robinson which had preceded it. Robinson, after having spent some time with his old friend Knebel, came to Weimar on August 2, 1829, and found Goethe in the Garden. He had several interesting conversations with Goethe in the days that followed, and read aloud to him from Byron and from Milton. Of Milton Goethe seems to have known but little previously, for he had not read *Samson Agonistes*. See (beside Robinson’s Diary and the letter to Zelter), Eckermann, *Conversations*, January 31, 1830.—TR.

on that day at his house in Weimar, and he was very pleasant and talkative. After a few days Odyniec began to like August Goethe, who at first had seemed to him merely "a cheerful *bon vivant*." Odyniec now began to think him a solid, reasonable nature, capable of deep feeling, though with a tendency to make everything an occasion of badinage.

This estimate of August is uttered in Odyniec's letter of the 24th of August 1829. On that day there was an evening assembly given by Otilie, at which Goethe appeared for a short time. He talked mostly of architecture and sculpture with Mickiewicz, Coudray, and the great French sculptor Pierre Jean David. David had come to Weimar in order to make a model for a colossal bust of Goethe. He was accompanied by a younger Frenchman, Victor Pavie, a writer of verse, and a wild enthusiast for Victor Hugo.

Goethe's birthday brought to Weimar the great Quetelet, then Director of the Observatory of Brussels, who was accompanied by his wife. Holtei, too, had returned again. The letters of Odyniec give a vivid and delightful account of those days, especially of the brilliant festivities of the birthday.¹ There was a banquet at the inn *Zum Erbprinzen*, at which Goethe's friends entertained the distinguished strangers in Weimar. August represented his father at this banquet. No men were asked to dine at Goethe's own house on that day; feminine tyranny excluded them; twelve self-selected pretty women and maidens gave the old poet their company.

It was at this time that Otilie started the little weekly

¹ Odyniec's letters are republished under the title *Zwei Polen in Weimar* (Vienna, 1870). The letters are translated into German. An introduction is supplied by F. Th. Bratranek. Another account of the birthday of 1829 is to be found in the *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, i. 349-352, in the long extract from a letter of Peucer.—TR.

Das Chaos, for circulation among friends. It was to be supported by the contributions of friends, and it came out every Sunday. Holtei was one of its supporters. And during the couple of years following verses by Goethe appeared in it now and then, but without his name, for nothing in its pages was to be signed. August Goethe spent most of his evenings in Holtei's companionship. Holtei writes: "He clung closer to me continually, and granted me a confidence and an often stormy friendship which put me in fear at times. Already death was rioting in his veins; his cheerfulness was wild and forced; his seriousness was gloomy and oppressive; his sadness was heartrending. Yet he endeavoured to maintain a certain ceremoniousness of forms, which often looked like an unconscious imitation of his father, and accordingly, when compared with the rest of his action, had a sort of phantom effect."

In September 1829 Zelter paid Goethe a visit.¹ The *Briefwechsel mit Schiller* was published at length in the latter part of this year. The reverential dedication of the book to the King of Bavaria was written on October 18, 1829. Goethe had wished to express his gratitude to the King in poetry, but had found himself unable to do so.

Towards the end of 1829 Goethe began to work hard at the first two acts of the Second Part of *Faust*. By January 1830 we find him at the *Classical Walpurgis-Night*. On February 10, 1830, he told Eckermann that the subject had proved a more diffuse one than he had expected: "I am not half done, but I will keep at it, and hope to have finished

¹ This visit lasted from Monday, September 14, to Monday, September 21, 1829. Goethe went to Dornburg with Zelter and Ternite. See Goethe to Müller, October 11, 1829: *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, iii. 246. Sckell describes the visit; he is, however, incorrect in placing it in August 1829. Goethe, according to Sckell, visited Dornburg for the last time in August 1830.—TR.

by Easter." Eckermann observed that he was in low spirits ; the Dowager Grand Duchess was very ill.¹

The noble Princess, whom we have seen a good friend to Goethe for fifty years, in whose esteem he had such a high place, died on Sunday, February 14, 1830. Eckermann was on his way to dine with Goethe when he heard of the event. Eckermann thought with some apprehension of the effect on Goethe. When he entered the house the servants told him that Ottilie was gone to break the sad news. Goethe had received it with silent composure. Eckermann entered his room, and found him taking his soup with Ottilie and her little ones. "We went on talking cheerfully of indifferent things." When the bells began to toll Ottilie and Eckermann talked louder, for they feared a shock ; but Goethe maintained the same perfect calm, which lasted on during calls from the physician Vogel, who told the circumstances of the last hours of the Duchess, and from Soret, who had a message of condolence from the reigning Grand Duchess. When Soret entered Goethe said to him : "Well ! come, take your place. The blow that has been threatening has fallen at last, and we have not, at any rate, to struggle with cruel uncertainty any longer. We must now see how we may reconcile ourselves afresh to life." A letter from the King of Bavaria had been a great comfort to Goethe. "I thank Heaven as for a special goodness that I have received this letter just on this day." But in the days that followed he felt sadly what a chasm in his life the loss of his Princess had made. On Monday, February 15, Soret found him melancholy and thoughtful, without a trace of the excitement of the previous day. "I must work very hard in order to bear up," he said.

¹ It was on this day that Goethe, talking with Müller, recalled having seen the Duchess, a light, slender girl, step into the carriage on the *Zeil* at Frankfurt in 1773. See vol. i. p. 215.—TR.

In order to throw his whole powers into the labour of perfecting the *Classical Walpurgis-Night* Goethe regularly put aside the *Globe* and the *Temps* at this time, and depended on his friends for his knowledge of what was occurring in the outer world. Accordingly he made rapid progress in his difficult task. But on Sunday, March 7, Eckermann going to him, found that he had been forced to lay the drama aside in order to finish the last "Lieferung" of his *Works*. A decision of great importance for his domestic peace now ripened; he at last agreed that his son should travel to Italy with Eckermann as companion. Johanna Schopenhauer remarks indeed that the condition of August was such as to forbid either the hope or the wish that he would return. It was on March 16, 1830, that August came and told Eckermann of his father's decision; on April 22, after Eckermann had finished his work at the last "Lieferung," the travellers started.

When the *Classical Walpurgis-Night* had at length been successfully completed, Goethe turned his attention to the Natural Sciences; and, above all, to Botany. Speaking of the translation of the *Metamorphosis*, he writes to Soret that one of the benefits which he has derived from the work is that by it he has been led back again in the most delightful way to Plant Life, before which he had felt a certain timidity for many years.¹

In the second half of May 1830, to the great pleasure of Goethe, Felix Mendelssohn, on a journey to Italy, called to see him. Mendelssohn had meant to spend only two days in Weimar, but the old gentleman could not let the splendid young genius depart so soon, and Felix did not leave until June 3, 1830, after a fortnight's stay. Goethe, whose enjoyment of music was increased by satisfying the historical sense,² caused Felix to play through works of great composers in chronological

¹ Goethe to Soret, July 1, 1830.—TR.

² Goethe to Zelter, June 3, 1830.—TR.

order. When Felix was leaving Goethe gave him a sheet of the manuscript of *Faust* with a dedication: "to my dear young friend, the ruler strong and tender of the piano, in memory of happy May days."

Soon after Mendelssohn's departure Goethe visited Jena again (June 1830). The Botanic Gardens gave him especial pleasure, and he examined the collections. The Library assistant, Dr. Ernst Friedrich Weller, a fine worthy character, endeared to Goethe by his steady sustained activity, received him at about nine o'clock. After breakfasting in the familiar corner-room on the second story they drove round the ramparts, and then Goethe returned to Weimar.¹ Very interesting letters and diaries were meanwhile being sent home by August; they bore witness to a clear practical insight, but were not wanting in instances of the tendency of the young man to energetic downright bluntness.

In the March of 1830 the scientific controversy between Cuvier and Geoffroy de St. Hilaire had roused the deepest interest in Goethe. St. Hilaire combated the Analytic method of conceiving the investigation of Nature, and upheld the method which had always been Goethe's, the Synthetic, which in its consideration of details always cherishes the Idea of the Whole, of Unity, from which the particular is deducible. This controversy still filled his thoughts when on August 2, 1830, Soret came to tell him the news of the July Revolution in Paris.² Goethe had not expected that the Parisian Liberals would

¹ Goethe intended to visit Jena again soon, but did not. See his letter to Götting, June 30; to Weller, July 16 and 27, 1830.—TR.

² The conversation which followed is well known, and has been commented upon as a proof of Goethe's indifference to great political events. But Hermann Uhde contends (*Goethes Briefe an Soret*, S. 105) that the conversation has been made more pointed and effective by the literary art of Eckermann, who was anxious that his supplementary volume should be as interesting as possible.—TR.

take up arms; there was not sufficient revolutionary momentum in the people, he thought.¹ None the less did he condemn the insane folly of the ruler who had irritated the sleeping lion.²

On July 27, 1830, Goethe, telling Boisserée of the controversy between Cuvier and St. Hilaire, had spoken of an essay with which he meant to disentangle the complexity of the affair, for his own sake and the sake of his friends. On August 11 he writes to Soret:—"I have . . . undertaken an essay to make the matter clear; this is hard, for both sides fight to a certain degree in darkness: I will see whether I can cast light on the field." At the close of this letter he writes:—"And now, finally, a hurried mention of an event which gives me much pleasure: I have received from St. Petersburg specimens of pure gold and pure platinum, each seven pennyweights in weight, which I wish to lay before my friend's eyes." This is the occurrence which gave rise to the outrageous story that Goethe intercepted and kept a bar of gold intended for the Mineralogical Cabinet.

Three days before his birthday Goethe informs Soret that the needful arrangements between Frommann, who was to print the translation of the *Metamorphosis of Plants*, and Cotta, who was to publish it, have been concluded, and the printing might soon begin.

The birthday of this year was kept as a day of festival in Weimar and many other places. Here may be fitly noted the great change of feeling shown by Frankfurt lately. In 1829 there had been a banquet and a representation of selections from *Faust* in the theatre in Goethe's honour. Dr. Stiebel, in proposing Goethe's health at the banquet, had recited a *Trinkspruch*, whose two concluding lines were a

¹ See Müller's *Unterhaltungen mit Goethe*, January 11, 1830.—TR.

² Cf. Soret's notes of a conversation with Goethe on January 17, 1831.
—TR.

satirical reference to the treatment which Goethe's withdrawal of his property had called forth in 1817:—¹

“Drum bleib’ uns der Frankfurter Goethe theuer,
Bezahlt er auch keine Einkommensteuer.”

These lines were hailed with loud merriment. A birthday letter from Marianne had not failed in 1829; she wrote from Baden on August 26, and sent Goethe a crystal goblet. When the Willemers returned to Frankfurt early in September 1829, Marianne was impressed by the turn that the general feeling of Frankfurt had taken. On September 25, 1829, after having mentioned the representation of *Faust*, she writes:—“Yet you probably know all this, probably too have heard of the banquet at the *Forsthaus* at which Thomas,² the single member of the Senate present might, however, be considered a representative; he was really astonished by what occurred. And it was very plain on this occasion how deeply and painfully the poor Frankfurters feel the loss of such a fellow-citizen, although the mode and manner in which they show it is not to their honour. Undoubtedly, only a gentle hint on your part, only the slightest indication is needed. . . .” But Goethe thought that it was now too late; the matter had better be allowed to rest, he replies to Marianne on October 22, 1829. The good will of the Frankfurters had not abated in 1830 when they sent him as a birthday gift a beautiful silver cup and many bottles of good Rhine wine.

In September 1830 the Berlin *Jahrbücher für wissenschaftliche Kritik* contained Goethe's review³ of the book in which St. Hilaire had opposed Cuvier. The review attracted the attention of a great many, and excited much interest.

¹ See pp. 336-7 of this volume.—TR.

² Thomas was the second husband of Willemer's daughter Rosette, whom we have known in her first widowhood as Rosette Städel.—TR.

³ *Ueber Geoffroy's de St. Hilaire: Principes de philosophie zoologique.*—TR.

It had meanwhile become impossible to Eckermann to accompany the wild uncontrollable August any longer. From August's letters Goethe perceived what ill-assorted companions they were. In Genoa a letter from Goethe informed the travellers that Eckermann would be welcome home if he felt inclined to return. Early on the morning of Sunday, July 25, 1830, they parted in the streets of Genoa and entered two carriages, one about to drive along the coast to Leghorn, the other setting out across the mountains for Turin. Eckermann reached Geneva on August 8, and stayed there for about seven weeks. It was on September 12, 1830, that he first wrote to Goethe. The cause of separation from August, which he put forward as the chief one, was an irresistible desire to revise the notes for his *Conversations with Goethe*. He had left these notes in Weimar in charge of Soret. Goethe writes on October 12, 1830, that he does not wish the notes of his conversation to be published soon, but he will be glad to go through them and correct them with Eckermann. He did not invite Eckermann to Weimar yet, to have seen him return without August would have been too hard.

Meanwhile Goethe had continued to receive good news from his son, who, indeed, on the day of separation from Eckermann, had had his collar-bone broken through the overturning of the carriage on the road between Genoa and Spezzia, but had recovered ere long, and after having seen Carrara and Florence, had taken ship at Leghorn for Naples. He was present when, on his father's birthday, they began the excavation of a private house of Pompeii.¹ Goethe remarks to Zelter² that August seemed at home in Pompèii, his feel-

¹ This house was named the *Casa di Goethe* in honour of the day. See page 438 of this volume.—TR.

² In the letter of February 23, 1831, in which he gives Zelter a short account of August's tour in Italy. The two following extracts are from the same letter.—TR.

ings, remarks, acts, in that city were gay, full of the delight in living. Yet there were symptoms of ill discernible. Of August in Naples he says:—"His letters thence failed, I must confess, to satisfy me; they indicated a certain haste, a sickly kind of exaltation. . . ." And again:—"A rapid journey to Rome had no power to soothe the nature already sorely agitated; and the honourable and affectionate reception of the Germans living in Rome, and of the important artists there, seems to have been enjoyed with a kind of feverish haste." With this "feverish haste" compare the old man's ceaseless industry at home:—"I scarcely leave the little back-room that you know, engaged day and night in using the powers that are left me."¹ On November 11 the terrible news came.

August had hurried from Naples to Rome about the middle of October 1830. The great impression of the "Niobe of Cities" overpowered him, and, conjoined with a lively intercourse with the many German artists and intellectual men in Rome, consumed in a few days the last remnants of strength in his weak, feverish, excited being. He returned very unwell one day from a trip to Albano; an attack of scarlatina followed, but seemed to be well past, when, on October 27, a stroke of paralysis unexpectedly brought his life to a close. When the body was opened it was found that the liver was three times the natural size and that the brain was malformed. He was buried on the morning of October 29, 1830, near the Pyramid of Cestius, where, many years before, his father in a melancholy mood had planned a grave.² Thorwaldsen, out of rever-

¹ Goethe to Zelter, October 29, 1830.—TR.

² See page 50 of this volume. Goethe, who was aware of the merits of Scott and Byron and Manzoni, and of the young Hugo, seems never to have found out Shelley and Keats. (As to Shelley, see his conversation with Müller, November 18, 1824.) One wishes that he could have known what dust it was that lay not far from his dear son's in "the romantic and lonely cemetery of the Protestants, under the pyramid which is the tomb

ence for the old poet, sketched a monument for the son, and had it erected.

The news of August's death was sent to Weimar by Lotte's fourth son, the Minister Resident August Kestner. Chancellor von Müller undertook to tell Goethe. The old man, now eighty-one, bore his trial with a kind of convulsive composure.¹ He had long foreseen the loss, though not the manner of it. He could not but reckon August fortunate in the circumstance of his death; while still in the full enjoyment of Rome, where so much good friendliness had met him, he had gone to his rest speedily, without the torment of lingering illness. The strange and significant part of this trial lay in the fact that the burden of labour which Goethe had thought very soon—even in the new year—to shift to younger shoulders he must now continue to bear himself, and must even bear a heavier one. "In such a case the great conception of Duty alone has power to sustain us," he writes to Zelter, November 21, 1830. Again, as so often before, he sought restoration in earnest, eager activity; and he was passionately attracted by that part of his life which offered the most striking contrast with the present—the time of his love for Lili.²

of Cestius, and the massy walls and towers, now mouldering and desolate, which formed the circuit of ancient Rome."—TR.

¹ "*Nemo ante obitum beatus* is a saying that has made a figure in the history of the world, but in reality it says nothing at all. To give it some soundness it must be shaped thus: *Expect trials till the end*. You, my good friend, have not lacked trials, nor have I; and it seems as though Destiny were of opinion that we are woven, not of nerves, veins, arteries, and other organs deduced from them, but of metallic wire." Goethe to Zelter, November 21, 1830. When Müller had told him he had exclaimed: "Non ignoravi me mortalem genuisse!" his eyes filling with tears.—TR.

² Goethe, writing to Zelter, December 10, 1830, tells how he attacked the fragmentary fourth volume of *Dichtung und Wahrheit* in November, and in a fortnight had made it possible to print it. Then his illness had come on. In March 1831 we find him submit it to Eckermann.—TR.

After Eckermann left Geneva he had visited Frankfurt and Cassel, and had arrived in Nordheim, where his betrothed lived, at the close of October 1830. He started for Weimar on the afternoon of November 20, and reached Göttingen at dusk. The landlord of the inn, hearing that Eckermann came from Weimar, and was now returning, calmly said that the great poet Goethe had to endure a great misfortune in his old age, for the day's papers announced the death of his only son in Italy. Eckermann passed a sleepless night, and afterwards, on the journey alone in the carriage, on the gloomy November days, amid the desert stillness of the November fields, could not take his thoughts off the terrible event and the father's grief. He arrived in Weimar on Tuesday, November 23, 1830, in the evening. He went to Goethe's house. The noble old man stood firm and upright before him, and clasped him lovingly in his arms. Then he sat down, apparently calm and cheerful, and talked of many things, only not a word of his son. The return of Eckermann was undoubtedly a great comfort; beside the satisfaction of affection, it lightened the old man's burden, for he felt that he might reckon on the most faithful aid in the difficult and important labour of preparing all that was still fragmentary and unarranged for publication after his death.¹ Two days later, November 25, 1830, Eckermann dined with Goethe and Ottilie, and had to tell about his travels. After dinner Goethe spoke of the *Conversations*: "It must be your first work, and we will not desist until the whole is complete and in order." Yet he seemed to Eckermann unusually quiet, and often lost in his thoughts—no good sign! That night he was seized with a violent hæmorrhage. The extreme skill of his doctor and absolute rest soon restored him. On November 29, 1830, he wrote to Zelter in pencil:

¹ Zelter called Eckermann (December 2, 1830) "Der getreue Eckart," and Goethe, writing to Zelter on December 14, 1830, uses the title.—TR.

“Noch ist das Individuum beisammen und bei Sinnen. Glück auf!”¹ On the morning of November 30 he sent Eckermann some poems for revision and arrangement, and added that *Faust* should soon follow. To complete *Faust* before death now lay on his heart as the last task of his poetic life. The plan of revising the *Conversations* had to be abandoned.

¹ “The individual is still together, and in his senses. Good speed!”
—TR.

CHAPTER II.

THE CLOSING DAYS.

DECEMBER 1830—MARCH 1832.

GOETHE'S word: "Lange leben heisst viele überleben,"¹ was destined to prove its truth in his case with the most painful force. But that other word: "Ueber Gräber, vorwärts!"² was no less a real part of him. Three years ago Zelter had written sadly, telling of the death of his youngest son. "Let us continue to labour," Goethe replied, "until, in whatsoever order summoned by the Spirit of the Universe, we return to the aether." Death, "that ancient tale" which the Parcae unweariedly repeat to one another,³ had no terrors for Goethe, though he felt intensely the piteousness of the fate of Man, who is forced to depart when the powers of his mind have reached their highest development; a feeling that found keen

¹ "To live long is to outlive many." This is from Goethe's letter to Zelter, March 19, 1827. The "word" occurs with modifications elsewhere. See Goethe to Boisserée, October 17, 1817; Goethe to Schlosser, May 17, 1819; Goethe to the Countess Bernstorff, April 17, 1823 (see p. 345 of this volume).—TR.

² "Over the graves, forward!" This will be found at the close of the letter, dated February 23, 1831, in which Goethe tells Zelter about the last months of August's life.—TR.

³ See the already-quoted letter to Zelter, March 19, 1827.—TR.

utterance on the occasion of Sömmering's death.¹ The short remaining portion of Goethe's life was, even more than the previous years, "testamentary."² Duties which would have fallen to August were now his. It was incumbent on him to provide for the future of his grandchildren; and, instead of trustfully leaving his literary *Remains* to a son's discretion, he had to form plans about it and communicate his will concerning it to faithful friends; while that difficult labour—the completion of unfinished writings, (the most important, of course, being the *Faust* and *Dichtung und Wahrheit*) was no less imperatively needful than before.

Goethe counted his letters to various persons as part of his *Remains*. We have already seen him revising and arranging the *Correspondence with Zelter*.³ It occurred to him that the proceeds of this *Correspondence* should be allotted as a provision for Zelter's daughter Doris. On December 6, 1830, Goethe asks Zelter to send a legal affirmation of this plan, which can then take its place among the clauses of his will. To Eckermann Goethe confided the task of examining his diaries and letters, in order to select all that ought to be published in the *Remains*. (The project of going through Eckermann's *Conversations* had been dropped.) Drafts of Goethe's letters to various persons had been kept since 1807. Eckermann spent some weeks at the end of the year 1830 in carefully examining the letters of a few years. On January 1, 1831, he brought Goethe a statement of considerations which should, in his opinion, determine the manner of publishing

¹ Sömmering died in March 1830. See Soret's account of a conversation with Goethe, March 17, 1830.—TR.

² Cp. Goethe to Zelter, January 9, 1827; Goethe to Boisserée, January 19, 1827; Goethe to Wilhelm von Humboldt, March 1, 1829; and Goethe to Zelter, November 23, 1831, for instances of his use of this word.—TR.

³ See p. 383 of this volume.—TR.

them. Goethe went over his statement point by point, approved of it, and said :—"In my will I will name you as the editor of these letters, and I will moreover indicate that we are in general of the same opinion as to the method to be observed." Meanwhile Chancellor von Müller had undertaken to draft Goethe's will. On January 5, 1831, Müller brought the draft to him, and he signified complete approval. On January 29 he writes to Zelter :—"My will . . . was handed over to the Grand-Ducal Government on January 8 ; in the last few days a codicil has been added, in order to make my extremely-complicated affairs as clear as possible for my descendants." It was a great relief to Goethe when the final arrangements about his will were made. On January 8 he excuses the shortness of his letter to Zelter thus :—"Forgive me if I stop here. All this providing for the future deprives me of my activity in the present moment ; and it is to be feared that when we have left this behind us a new Leviathan will open wide his jaws."

During the first two months of 1831 Goethe was tolerably well, nay, we find him towards the close of February venturing on a drive, and enjoying the prospect of the snow-covered hills.¹ Ottilie did all she could think of to give him pleasure. She was his constant companion ; and in the evenings she read aloud to him from his correspondence with Zelter. We must also picture Goethe as the delighted sympathiser in the little joys and sorrows of his grandchildren ; the glimpses we obtain of him in his relation to them reveal a noble tenderness and wisdom. His sorrow for August had calmed in so far that he found himself able to send to his Italian friends a hasty sketch of August's journey, derived from the diaries. The diaries themselves were "extremely interesting, but, on account of the always-prominent individuality . . . not to be

¹ See Eckermann's *Conversations*, February 23, 1831.—TR.

communicated in their peculiar energy and decisiveness.”¹ The death of August was celebrated by the Freemasons’ Lodge with the solemnity worthy of the occasion.

The Court of Weimar did everything possible to show honour to Goethe. Every Thursday the Grand Duchess visited him, and in all her schemes for the advancement of art and of science she asked his advice; the Grand Duke visited him frequently in the evenings, and the Hereditary Prince came sometimes in Soret’s company. Retired as Goethe’s present life was, he found it easy to manage his official business, for everything that he had charge of was in the very best order. August’s place in the Superintendence was filled by the appointment of Vogel, the physician, but for whose skill Goethe believed that he should have died long before.² There was one source of bitter annoyance to Goethe in these official matters, the Estates would insist on an exact account of the expenditure of the money placed in his hands; they were of course only exercising their right, and yet it was hard on the old poet, after so many years of unquestioned benevolent autocracy, to be summoned thus to judgment. It was a deep grief to him when the news of the death of his true old friend Klinger, in St. Petersburg, arrived in Weimar.³ There had been a revival of intercourse between Goethe and Klinger in the beginning of the century, immediately after Goethe’s dreadful illness, and at the time when the relations between the Court of Weimar and of Russia had grown intimate.⁴

¹ Goethe to Zelter, February 19, 1831.—TR.

² See Eckermann’s *Conversations*, January 24, 1830.—TR.

³ See Müller, *Unterhaltungen mit Goethe*, March 31, 1831.—TR.

⁴ It will be remembered how Klinger followed Goethe to Weimar in 1776. (See vol. i. p. 335.) Klinger’s dissolute life, and the bad offices of the *Kraftapostel* Kaufmann, had caused a breach between the two friends even before Lenz’s “donkeyism” (vol. i. p. 362). Later Klinger

Meanwhile the great industry which we now have followed through so many years knew no slackening. The translation of the *Metamorphosis of Plants* was still passing through the press during the early months of 1831. Careful scrutiny of the manuscript and of proofs gave Goethe a great deal to do, and led him continually deeper into the subject. Moreover, there was the duty of completing the Second Part of *Faust*. In February 1831 he attacked the Fourth Act.¹ His advance was slow, for he was only able to work at it in the early part of the day while his brain was still fresh after sleep. About this time he made up packets of the letters in his possession, intending to return them to the senders. One of these packets contained the letters of Marianne. On March 3, 1831, he wrote eight beautiful lines,² which have reference to this restitution to Marianne. Yet he could not bear to pain her yet by an act which would bring home to her, with such great force, the inevitable nearness of his death, and the letters did not find their way to Frankfurt until a later time.

Immediately after this Goethe felt very unwell, and only his most intimate friends were admitted. Bleeding was prescribed, then he felt pains in his right leg, and at length his internal complaint relieved itself through a wound in the foot, upon which he recovered rapidly, and at the close of March

entered the Russian military service and rose to a high rank in it. Part of the correspondence of the second period of friendship between Goethe and Klinger is printed in the *Goethe-Jahrbuch* for 1882. Klinger died February 25, 1831. See the Appendix to vol. i.—TR.

¹ See Eckermann's *Conversations*, February 11, 1831.—TR.

² The lines beginning—

“ Vor die Augen meiner Lieben,
Zu den Fingern die's geschrieben.”

See Creizenach's note, *Goethe und Marianne von Willemer*, pp. 304-5; and see Düntzer, *Westöstlicher Divan*, p. 168.—TR.

was as bright and gracious as ever.¹ On March 25 he had shown to Eckermann an elegant green arm-chair that he had bought at an auction. "However, I shall use it little or not at all," he said, "for all kinds of comfortableness are really quite contrary to my nature. You see no sofa in my room; I always sit in my old wooden chair, and it is only within the last few weeks that I have had a kind of rest put up for my head. A surrounding of comfortable, pretty furniture paralyses my thought and brings me into an easy, passive condition. Splendid rooms and elegant furniture, unless we are accustomed to them from youth, are for people who have no thoughts and who desire none."

During the period of indisposition he had not ceased to work. We have seen that he had begun the Fourth Act of *Faust*, and now the Fourth Volume of *Dichtung und Wahrheit* was taken out and Eckermann was employed to examine it, and Goethe talked over with him the results of this examination.² And there was the old unwearied activity of interest in science, literature, and art.³

On March 31 Goethe was, as we have seen, quite well again, and the Grand Duchess paid him her usual Thursday visit. When she inquired after his health he gallantly replied that, until to-day, he had not perceived his recovery, but her presence made him feel anew the happiness of restoration to health. On the same day Müller met, at Goethe's house, the Grand Duke, and Spontini, who was returning from a visit to Paris. Among other things Goethe talked of Klinger a good deal. On May 2, 1831, Goethe told the delighted Eckermann that he had almost succeeded in completing the begin-

¹ Soret in Eckermann's *Conversations*, March 31, 1831.—TR.

² See Eckermann's *Conversations*, March 15 and 16, 1831.—TR.

³ See Goethe to Boisserée, March 20, 1831—a passage near the beginning of the letter.—TR.

ning of the Fifth Act of the Second Part of *Faust*. (The later part of this Act had been written some time.) On May 15 Eckermann dined alone with Goethe in his workroom. After a great deal of cheerful talk Goethe rose, and taking a paper from his desk said: "When a man has passed the age of eighty, as I have, he has hardly a right to live; he ought day by day to hold himself ready to be called away, and should be intent on setting his house in order. As I told you lately, I have in my will appointed you editor of my literary *Remains*, and this morning I have drawn up, as a kind of contract, a little paper which you and I shall both sign." After signing they discussed matters of detail as to which they had not yet fully decided. Goethe told Eckermann that, if needful, the polemic part of the *Farbenlehre* might be omitted.

Four days after this conversation Goethe was attacked by a violent catarrh. It lasted four weeks, tormenting and wearying him, and at times making him very depressed and irritable. But it did not check his labour; he fought day by day in the endeavour to do the duty that lay next him.¹ And the time was not without many alleviating and pleasurable events. The last sheets of Soret's translation of the *Metamorphosis of Plants* passed through the press, and a great burthen was lifted off Goethe. He sent one copy to the *Académie Française*.

On July 8, 1831, he writes to Zelter:—"It is well with me in every sense; so that I have set before me an object to be attained ere my next birthday—an object which I will not precipitately mention. If I succeed you shall be the first to hear of it." The object in view was the completion of *Faust*. Shortly after Goethe had two pleasant visits. On July 14, 1831, the King of Würtemberg, accompanied by the Crown-Prince and Soret, came. On July 22 Goethe and Riemer, when out driving at about five o'clock in the afternoon, met

¹ See Goethe to Zelter, June 18, 1831.—TR.

Zelter and Schultz; they turned back at once, and, after the new-comers had arranged matters at the "Swan" inn, all spent the evening together. Zelter remained until July 26; this was the last meeting of the old friends. After Zelter's departure the colossal marble bust of Goethe that David had modelled in 1829 at last arrived in Weimar. It was accompanied by a reverential letter from David:—"Vous êtes la grande figure poétique de notre époque, elle vous doit une statue." Goethe gave the bust to the Library of Weimar, to be the companion of Dannecker's bust of Schiller. Another very much prized gift arrived in August 1831. Under date August 20, 1831, Goethe writes to Zelter:—"Fifteen English Friends—as they subscribe themselves—caused a seal to be prepared by their most famous goldsmiths. It is of a size to be easily contained in the hollow of the hand, and in shape is like a longish vase. . . . The English seem to think the word 'Ohne Rast, doch ohne Hast'¹ to be one of considerable significance, and at bottom it is a very good expression of their own way of acting. These words are inscribed around a star, within the well-known serpent circling all; unfortunately Old German capital letters are used, and these tend somewhat to obscure the meaning. It is a gift in every sense worthy of thanks, and I have written some friendly rhymes² to them in return for it." The originator of this gift was Thomas Carlyle; and among the subscribers were, beside Carlyle, two of the

¹ Goethe misquotes his own words. The verses will be found among the *Zahme Xenien*:—

"Wie das Gestirn,
Ohne Hast,
Aber ohne Rast,
Drehe sich jeder
Um die eigne Last!"—TR.

² *To Nineteen Friends in England.* See a note in the Appendix to this volume.—TR.

greatest Englishmen then living—Walter Scott and Wordsworth. The rest were poets and literary men, all, with but a few exceptions, of real importance, though they attained not to the first three.¹ The letter which accompanied the seal speaks with deep feeling of the great debt due to the poet Goethe, as a spiritual teacher, by the whole world; “our chief, perhaps our only benefactor, is he who by act and word instructs us in wisdom.”²

Meanwhile Goethe had attained the goal towards which he had so long been striving. He had finished the *Faust*. By August 1831 the manuscript of the whole Second Part lay before him stitched and complete. He was very happy. “The rest of my life,” he said to Eckermann, “may be regarded as a free gift; and it is now in reality a matter of indifference what I do, and whether I do anything at all.”

The birthday which proved to be the last of Goethe’s life was now close at hand. It would be celebrated in Weimar by festivities, which he desired to avoid; and accordingly, on August 26, 1831, he betook himself to Ilmenau, accompanied by his grandsons. Eighteen years since, at the same season of the year, he had gone thither to join Karl August,³ and since that time he had not seen the place. Mining for silver in Ilmenau had been entirely abandoned; still the poet could find a source of great pleasure in the “remarkable utilisation of the manifold surfaces and depths of earth and mountain” that he observed. The boys absorbed everything with fresh, healthy senses, and he watched them with delight, as we have

¹ Southey, Proctor, Heraud (of *Fraser’s Magazine*), Professor Wilson, John Carlyle, Lockhart, Lord Francis Leveson Gower, Moir, Jerdan (of the *Literary Gazette*), Maginn, Fraser (of the *Foreign Review*), Churchill (author of a translation of *Wallensteins Lager* that appeared in *Fraser’s Magazine*).—TR.

² See *Fraser’s Magazine*, iv. 447 (November 1831).—TR.

³ In 1813. See p. 299 of this volume.—TR.

known him watch August long ago.¹ "These dear novices pressed without poetic vehicle into contact with the primary immediate circumstance of Nature. They saw the charcoal-burners on the spot as they live, people who during the whole year taste neither bread nor butter nor beer, subsisting only on potatoes and goat's milk; and there are others, such as wood-cutters, glass-blowers, who fare in the same way; but all are more cheerful than we, who usually lose the *To-day* because there has been a *Yesterday* and a *To-morrow* is coming."² This excursion lasted six days, the very brightest days of all that summer.³ It was at the inn called "The Lion," in the little town, that Goethe stayed during this time.

On August 27, 1831, he invited the *Rentamtman* Mahr to drive with him to the hill called the Gickelhahn. There, almost half a century ago, he had written the noble poem *Ilmenau*, addressed to Karl August.⁴ Here, too, and at the same time, he had pencilled the verses *Nachtlied*⁵ on the wall of the wooden hut on the summit. When the carriage which

¹ See p. 138 of this volume.—TR.

² Goethe to the Willemers, September 22, 1831.—TR.

³ Goethe to Zelter, September 4, 1831.—TR.

⁴ See vol. i. pp. 432, 440.—TR.

⁵ "Ueber allen Gipfeln." In the edition of his poems published in 1815 these lines follow the *Wanderers Nachtlied* of 1776 (see vol. i. p. 322), and are entitled *Ein Gleiches*. The date affixed to them is "6th September 1783." Now Goethe was not in Ilmenau on September 6, 1783. On that day he started from Weimar for the Harz with Fritz Stein (see vol. i. p. 446). But Düntzer gives the original inscription on the hut wall:—"Am 2 Sept. 1783, Nachtlied." On that day we know Goethe to have been at Ilmenau. (Düntzer, *Goethes lyrische Gedichte*, ii. 150). (Several Goethe scholars, however, assert that the original date was "September 7, 1780." Goethe spent the night between September 6 and 7, 1780, in the hut on the Gickelhahn. See his letter to Charlotte von Stein, in which he describes the clear evening sky, the faint smoke, the great stillness. Loeper, Goedeke, and Fielitz believe the poem to have been written on that evening.)—TR.

bore Mahr and Goethe had gone as far as possible, they alighted to climb the rest of the way on foot. Goethe gazed on the beautiful prospect with mingled delight and sadness. "Ah," he cried, "would that my good Grand Duke Karl August could have seen this loveliness once more!" Then he hurried up the steep ascent with youthful eagerness, nor would he accept any aid from his companion. When he stood before the inscription—

“ Ueber allen Gipfeln
Ist Ruh,
In allen Wipfeln
Spürest du
Kaum einen Hauch ;
Die Vögeln schweigen im Walde.
Warte nur, balde
Ruhest du auch ”—

tears flowed down his face. Slowly he drew his handkerchief from his pocket, dried his tears, and said in a gentle, melancholy voice : “Ja warte nur, balde ruhest du auch!” was silent half a minute, looked out through the window at the dark pine-wood, and then turned to Mahr, saying : “Now we will go down again.”

Though Goethe had fled from Weimar to avoid birthday festivities, the good people of Ilmenau, with *Oberjägermeister* von Fritsch at their head, were determined not to let the day pass unhonoured ; they did not forget what Ilmenau and the whole neighbourhood owed to the great poet. Early in the morning the chorale : “Nun danket alle Gott!” was sung in front of the “Lion” inn. A cheerful company assembled at the dinner with which they entertained him later on ; and in the evening there was a great deal of music, and the miners’ comedy mentioned in *Wilhelm Meister’s Lehrjahre* was performed. In Weimar the colossal bust by David had been

unveiled in the Library on August 28, and the usual banquet had taken place, with signs of sympathy more general than ever. And eighteen friends in Frankfurt united to send him a gift truly characteristic of his native city, viz. four dozen of old Main wine and Rhine wine.

We have heard him say to Eckermann when *Faust* was finished: "I consider the rest of life as a gift." Yet he continued to add many touches to *Faust* during the autumn. Moreover that last precious volume of *Dichtung und Wahrheit* was still unfinished. Fortunately for his labours his good health remained unbroken until the final illness, though he had to lead a very regular and secluded life, and there were many signs of the feebleness of old age. It was at this period that he read Cicero's treatise *De Senectute* for the first time. We find him venturing out-of-doors even in October. Thus on October 6 he visited the Central Tree Nursery, and on October 19 he was present at the Exhibition held at Belvedere of the Society for the Promotion of Agriculture. Botany continued to exercise the same delightful attraction; that which chiefly interested him was the discovery of Martius of the spiral tendency of plants; moreover, he had entered into communication with the chemist Wackenroder on the subject of the chemistry of plants. His life was, as ever, an unresting toil; each morning he found more work waiting on him than the day sufficed for—Art, Literature, Natural Science, the old official tasks with which we are so familiar, the activity of beneficence to fellow-creatures, and a wide correspondence.

Moreover, he enjoyed a remarkable tranquil domestic happiness during these closing months; the behaviour of Ottilie and his grandchildren was "allerliebste."¹ Ottilie shielded him skilfully from unpleasantness; saw that everything occurred at the right time; read aloud to him in the

¹ Goethe to Zelter, No. 818 (vi. 300).—TR.

evenings from Plutarch's *Lives*, and by her intelligence and originality of character was a source of continual delight. Moreover, the visits from the royal family of Weimar, and continual intercourse with a circle of good friends—Eckermann, Riemer, Meyer, Müller, Coudray, and Vogel—contributed to give brightness to the evening of his life.

In November 1831 Goethe withdrew to live entirely in the rooms at the rear of his house, "where the rising sun, just at this season, shines horizontally into my room, and does not leave me until it sets, so that its obtrusiveness often grows inconvenient, and I am actually compelled to shut it out for a while."¹ In these little rooms he felt very happy, for there was not a moment unoccupied by some interesting labour. In January 1832 he read aloud *Faust* to Ottilie, and he continued to change and retouch the drama. It is strange to find Goethe at this time supplying an omission in his *Farbenlehre*, as he had planned to do many years before. Boisseree wrote in December 1831, noticing that a word in explanation of the Rainbow might well be inserted, since Goethe was preparing his *Farbenlehre* for publication as part of his *Remains*. Upon this Goethe began an exposition of the Rainbow in a series of letters to Boisseree. His death came before the series was finished. The *Farbenlehre*, in general, occupied a good deal of his time at present; the historical part especially called for revision. Another branch of science which engaged Goethe's last months was Comparative Anatomy. A second article on St. Hilaire was only completed by March 1832. Goethe had ere this entirely abandoned the study of Meteorology, and the meteorological institutions of Jena were contracted in their operation; for it was thought that no laws were deducible from observations made in such a fickle climate—the task must be left to meteorologists in tropical lands.

¹ Goethe to Zelter, November 23, 1831.—TR.

A visit from Zelter's daughter Doris in January 1832 brought a pleasant stir and excitement into the quiet family circle of the Goethes. Otilie was an admirable hostess, and Goethe too aided in his own fashion, so that Doris enjoyed the Weimar life very much. Yet Goethe, with all his cheerful sympathy in the life of others, did not forget that his own end must be near. On February 10, 1832, he told Marianne of the packet of her letters that he had prepared. He only asked her to promise not to open it until "the indeterminate hour" arrived.¹

On March 6, 1832, Goethe received a letter from the artist Zahn,² who was then in Pompeii, accompanied by a hasty sketch of a splendid mosaic painting. This sketch gave the poet a great deal of joyful occupation. The painting, a representation of one of the battles of Alexander, had been found in the house excavated in the presence of August Goethe in 1830. This house had received the name *Casa di Goethe*. Zahn in his letter related how, on Goethe's last birthday, a company of Germans and foreigners had met in this house and celebrated the day with high revel. Goethe sent a long letter of thanks to Zahn on March 10, 1832.

On March 15 the Grand Duchess paid Goethe her usual Thursday visit. He talked with vivacity of the Pompeian painting and of many other things, especially of the political events of the day. At dinner he was very cheerful, and he took his usual drive. He was quite well that evening. But he had a very restless night, and his grandson Wolf, coming to breakfast with him as usual, found him in bed. Yet he was able to receive visits in the evening. On Sunday, March 18, he spent a few hours out of bed, and spoke of work again.

¹ The packet was not sent to Marianne until after Goethe's death. See Eckermann's letter to her, Creizenach, *Goethe und Marianne*, 329.—TR.

² See pp. 391 and 392 of this volume.—TR.

On the evening of March 19 he talked with his doctor, (who, as we have seen, was associated with him in the Superintendence), of many matters connected with the institutions that dealt with Art and Science; he was especially intent on the promotion of certain of the officials whom he had ere this recommended to Vogel. On the night between the 19th and 20th the illness suddenly assumed a threatening character. After some hours of sound sleep Goethe awoke about midnight and felt a chill, that began with the hands, spreading minute by minute over his whole body, and soon pains in the chest, difficulty of breathing, and restless wretchedness followed. Yet he would not allow his servant to call the doctor, because there was "only suffering in question, no danger to life." When Vogel came in the morning the case seemed to him a very bad one; however, the measures which he adopted brought great relief, and on this day, Tuesday, March 20, 1832, Goethe was able to sign a document which secured a regular support to a gifted young artist, a Weimar lady in whom he took a paternal interest.¹ Next day, Wednesday, March 21, Goethe seemed better in the forenoon, but from noon on the signs of the approaching end were plain. Yet he still anticipated recovery. The doctor would not allow any one to see him but Otilie, his grandchildren, and his servant. On the morning of March 22 he had Otilie to sit beside him; he held her hand long in his and talked cheerfully with her. But his words began to grow gradually more and more indistinct, until at length all speech failed. Then he sought to communicate by signs, at first in the air, then, when his waning strength sufficed no longer to hold up his arm, he wrote on his lap. At about half-past eleven in the forenoon he drew himself into the corner of his chair and

¹ This, Goethe's last handwriting, is preserved in the Grand Ducal Library of Weimar.—TR.

departed gently from life—so gently that the actual moment was unobserved. At the same hour, on the same day of the month, his true friend Voigt had died thirteen years before. And in



FIG. 15. Goethe lying in death. From the original drawing by Friedrich Preller, by permission of the possessor of the drawing, Frau Mathilde Arnemann of Weimar.

1825 the theatre of Weimar was burned on March 22, and this he had thenceforward regarded as his day of misfortune.

We refrain from any description of the great sympathy shown by those who came to see the dead lying in state, or

of the splendid funeral which accompanied him to the *Fürstengruft* on the afternoon of March 26. With reverence let us enter that vault where, as he desired, his dust was laid by that of Schiller, in an oaken shrine in front of the bronze coffins of Karl August and Luise, the good friends of his long, toilsome, glorious life. Mankind knows no spot more sacred than the

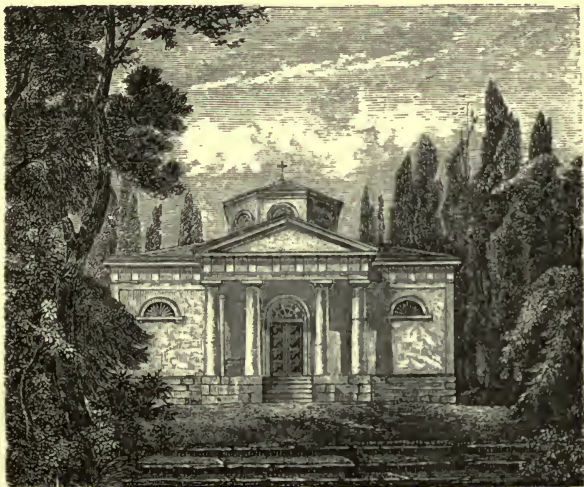


FIG. 16. The *Fürstengruft* of Weimar. From an old engraving.

resting-place of the German Dioscuri. They do not, like the Twin-Brethren of Grecian legend, lead a life of alternate splendour and darkness, now in Olympus, now in the lower world—they live in the light of a fame not subject to the limitations of place or time. And that their final repose in union is so true a symbol of the noble brotherhood that united them in life is a rare blossom in the wreath of pure human virtues which, together with the laurel, adorns Goethe's brow.

1784.

My dear friend
Goethe

1793.

Goethe

1818.

My dear friend
Goethe

1827.

My dear friend
J. W. Goethe

1827.

J. W. Goethe

APPENDIX TO VOL. I.

A SECOND edition of this life of Goethe has been called for already in Germany. The author has taken the opportunity to revise in accordance with the latest discoveries. Nearly all the translation was in type before the second edition was finished. Therefore I endeavour in the following Appendix to give to English Goethe students the value of the most important changes in a series of numbered Articles. In each case I give reference to the page of the translation where the article may be supposed to intercalate. The possessors of the translation can easily insert on its pages counter references to the articles of the Appendix.

It must be borne in mind that minute changes in the text of the original, due to the taste of the author, and in general tiny enlargements of the mass of fact which do not affect our view of Goethe, are omitted from this Appendix. They would really tend to diminish its usefulness. *Errata* properly so-called are also for the most part excluded here, a list of them will be found at the beginning of each volume.

1. *Circumstance of Goethe's birth*, vol. i. p. 3.—Goethe, according to the *Book of Baptisms* of Frankfurt, was born between noon and one o'clock on August 28, 1749, and was baptized in his father's house on the following day by Dr. Johann Philipp Fresenius, the Sunday preacher at the Grey Friars Church. Dr. Fresenius was the clergyman who afterwards undertook to prepare Wolfgang for confirmation (vol. i. p. 40).

2. *The date of the birth of Johann Kaspar Goethe* (vol. i. p. 4) is omitted in the second edition. The date of his baptism is given instead. It is July 31, 1710. Moreover the marriage of the poet's father and mother (vol. i. p. 6) took place not on July 20, but on August 20, 1748.

3. *Wealth of the elder Goethes*.—Friedrich Georg Goethe (vol. i. p. 4) grew rich rapidly after settling in Frankfurt. After the death of his first wife his wealth increased until he paid the highest assessment in Frankfurt, and when he married Cornelia Schellhorn his property was twice as great as hers. Soon after his second marriage his wife's father, one of the richest men of the city, died, leaving his daughter one-third of his property. Johann Kaspar Goethe left the greater part of the family property to his

mother's disposal while she lived. He paid tax on only 2000 gulden. In 1704, Friedrich Georg Goethe, just before his second marriage, had paid tax on 15,000.

4. *Hermann Jakob Goethe*, vol. i. p. 11.—The cause which prevented intimacy with this man's family was the badness of the character of his wife.

5. *Goethe in Wetzlar*.—It is observed (vol. i. p. 183) that Goethe did little in Wetzlar to increase his knowledge of Law. The single trace of his presence, writes Herbst (*Goethe in Wetzlar*, 33), that the lawyer Goethe has left in Wetzlar is his entry in the *Matrikel*, a book kept for the self-registry of young practitioners—

JOHANN WOLFG. GOETHE
VON ERFURT AM MAYN.

25 May, 1772.

Düntzer notes in the new edition that those students who really purposed to learn some law placed themselves under some older lawyer, who gave them lectures and law-work. We do not hear that Goethe did anything of the kind.

6. *Charlotte Buff's birthday*, see vol. i. pp. 186, and 209, footnote.—On page 156 of the new edition, the date January 11 is a misprint for January 13. Herbst is quite mistaken on this point. The church registry of Wetzlar contains the entry of Charlotte Buff's birth on January 13, 1753, and the entry of her baptism on January 14, 1753. It was then customary in Germany to baptize on the day following the day of birth.

7. *Kestner's first acquaintance with Charlotte Buff*, vol. i. p. 186.—On page 156 of his new edition Düntzer gives the date of Kestner's first arrival in Wetzlar, May 3, 1767, and mentions that Kestner's love had been won by Lotte from the very beginning of his residence in her neighbourhood (see Herbst, *Goethe in Wetzlar*, p. 107). The old date, "the summer or autumn of 1768," is accordingly incorrect. Moreover, Düntzer corrects his statement (vol. i. p. 188) that Kestner was soon Lotte's declared lover. In the new edition (p. 158) he writes:—"The young Secretary of Legation was soon the most intimate friend of the family. But it was only to her mother that he declared his love for Charlotte, and his purpose to win her for his wife. Frau Buff gave her blessing to the union before her death, which took place in March 1771. From that time the cares of the household fell on Charlotte." I add, however, that Kestner soon learned that Lotte loved him. On November 2, 1768, he writes:—"I know that I possess the whole heart of my beloved. May Heaven keep it mine."

8. *The walks on which Goethe accompanied Lotte*, vol. i. p. 189.—Düntzer adds in the new edition (p. 159) that they sometimes went as far

as Garbenheim, or even to Atzbach, to see friends named Rhodius. Herbst (p. 114) mentions, however, that when Kestner was not with them some female friend accompanied Lotte.

9. *The remarkable crisis of Goethe's passion for Lotte in August 1772*, vol. i. pp. 191-195.—When Goethe visited Lotte on August 8, at Atzbach, the passionate ardour which he displayed made her feel very uneasy. On August 13 Kestner was in Giessen on business. He returned on the same day, and Lotte, accompanied by Dorothea von Brandt and by Goethe, came to meet him. In the evening Kestner was much vexed when he heard from Lotte that Goethe had kissed her. Lotte told it frankly and simply, not so much complaining of Goethe as regretting that the incident had occurred. Kestner's Diary has the following entries :—

“A little *brouillerie* with Lottchen [on August 13], which was all past and forgotten next day.

“August 14. In the evening Goethe, returning from a walk, came to the courtyard [of the Teutonic Order]. He was treated with indifference, and soon went away.

“August 15. Goethe was sent to Atzbach to take an apricot to Frau *Rentmeisterin* Rhodius. He returned at ten o'clock in the evening, and found us sitting outside the door; the flowers that he brought were left lying about carelessly; he felt the slight, and flung them away; he spoke in parables. I walked with Goethe that night in the street until twelve o'clock; a remarkable conversation, when he showed himself to be full of disgust, and had all kinds of fancies, at which in the end we laughed, leaning against a wall in the moonlight.

“On August 16—it was a Sunday—Goethe received a lecture from Lottchen; she declared to him that he had nothing but friendship to hope for; he grew pale, and was very much cast down. We went out for a walk by the Neustadt Gate afterwards, Goethe and I in Bostel's company.”

Goethe went to Giessen on August 18, 1772, vol. i. p. 192. Herbst (*Goethe in Wetzlar*, 134) mentions that Lotte had gone thither on August 17—the day after that Sunday on which she had given Goethe the lecture. When Goethe and Merck were at Pfaff's house on the evening of August 18, it was proposed that Lotte should return to Wetzlar in their company. This she refused to do: she wished Kestner to come and fetch her home. On the afternoon of August 19 Goethe and Merck wandered down the bank of the Lahn to Wetzlar. Goethe hastened to Kestner late that evening and told him that Lotte wanted him to go to Giessen for her, and also informed him of Merck's arrival. Very early on the morning of August 20, Kestner arose and rode to Giessen and brought Lotte home in a carriage which he hired in Giessen. Lotte drove the horse herself, and the two lovers arrived in Wetzlar before noon. After dinner the whole Buff family accompanied Merck and Goethe to Garbenheim. There they separated, the Buffs returning to Wetzlar, Goethe and Merck going on to

Giessen. On August 22, a Saturday, Merck left Giessen for Frankfurt, where he meant to spend the Sunday with Goethe's parents. Merck's endeavour to persuade Goethe to come back to Frankfurt was fruitless (vol. i. p. 192), but Goethe promised to meet Merck on some fixed day within a few weeks at the house of Frau von Laroche at Thalehrenbreitstein, and thence to go up the Rhine with him to Frankfurt. The time originally fixed for Goethe's stay in Wetzlar was indeed over, and Rath Goethe could not but desire the return of his son, who was making so little use of the legal advantages of Wetzlar. See Herbst, *Goethe in Wetzlar*, 189.

10. *The farce: Das Unglück der Jacobis*.—This farce, which the old edition placed after *Werther* in the spring of 1774 (vol. i. p. 237) Düntzer now removes to the October of 1772. On the last day of May, or in the beginning of June, 1774, Goethe told Johanna Fahlmer that *Das Unglück der Jacobis* was written immediately after his return in Merck's company from the Rhine trip of September 1772. See the *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, 1881, page 383, and see Article 26 of this Appendix. At the close of the first paragraph on page 202 of our translation insert:—"About this time the farce *Das Unglück der Jacobis* must have originated; it was founded on a certain story that came to Goethe's ears." This farce was never finished. See Höpfner's letter, quoted i. 237. Goethe promised Johanna Fahlmer, in the conversation to which reference has already been made, that it should never see the light again.

11. *Goethe's friendship with Klinger and with Kayser*.—In the first edition Goethe's intimacy with these friends is represented as beginning in the spring of 1774, when Merck was withdrawn for a while from Goethe's society (see vol. i. p. 240). But in the second edition Düntzer places the commencement of intimacy between them more than twelve months earlier. (On August 26, 1801, Klinger writes to Goethe:—"I am, with the old feelings known to you more than twenty-eight years, your cordially devoted Klinger.") At the close of the first paragraph of page 207, vol. i., of our translation insert:—"About this time [midwinter 1772-3] Klinger seems to have drawn nearer to Goethe. In September 1772 Klinger [who was three years younger than Goethe] left school, and not having money enough to go to an university maintained himself by private teaching. And probably it was at this time that Goethe made the acquaintance of Philipp Christoph Kayser. Kayser, who was now seventeen, was the son of Johann Matthias Kayser, the organist of the Grey Friars Church of Frankfurt." It will be seen that one of the details on page 240, vol. i., is here corrected by Düntzer—Kayser's father was not organist of St. Katharine's but of Grey Friars. As to the new details on Klinger, see Düntzer's article *Klinger in Weimar* in the *Archiv für Literaturgeschichte*, Bd. xi., and Rieger's new book on Klinger.

12. *The satirical Jahrmarkt which Goethe wrote in the spring of 1773*, vol. i. p. 213.—Düntzer inserts in the new edition a statement from one

of Caroline Flachsland's letters, that Goethe put Leuchsenring into this satire in order to please Merck (*um Merck die Cour zu machen*).

13. *The Princess Luise of Darmstadt starting for Berlin in 1773*, vol. i. p. 215.—This event is misplaced in the first edition. Goethe was in Darmstadt from April 15 to May 3, 1773. How then could he have seen the Princess step into her carriage on the *Zeil* at Frankfurt? Düntzer's correct arrangement in the second edition makes all clear. Merck and the Princess departed (not in April) but on May 7, 1773. It was after Goethe's sorrowful return from Herder's wedding that he had to bear the new grief of parting from Merck. The possessor of our translation will insert the event on page 216 instead of page 215. On page 286 he will correct April 1773 into May 1773. Moreover it was not after her death, but three days before it, that Goethe spoke to Chancellor von Müller of having seen her, light and slender, step into the carriage that was to bear her away. See Müller's *Unterhaltungen mit Goethe*, February 10, 1830. See vol. ii. of our translation, page 415.

14. *The date of Herder's marriage*, vol. i. p. 215.—Herder was married on May 2, 1773, not on May 1, 1773, as the first edition states. Goethe returned to Frankfurt on the following day. On page 217 accordingly correct May 2, 1773, to May 3. (See Haym, *Herders Leben*, vol. i. p. 531.)

15. On p. 218, vol. i., insert at the end of the first paragraph:—"Götz was being printed at Merck's printing-press at Arheiligen at this time, and the task of correcting the proof-sheets gave Goethe a great deal of work."

16. *The silhouette and poem*, vol. i. pp. 218, 219.—These are misplaced in the first edition. They belong not to June 1773 but to September 1773. They were sent with the letter of September 15, 1773, which is quoted on page 223.

17. *Satyros oder der vergötterte Waldteufel*.—Düntzer in the second edition assigns this dramatic satire to the summer of 1773. In the first edition he had guessed its date to be August or September 1774 (see vol. i. p. 255). But new evidence has been discovered since he wrote. On the last day of May 1774, or in the beginning of June 1774, Goethe told Johanna Fahlmer that the *Satyros* was written before she went to Düsseldorf. Now she went to Düsseldorf in September 1773 with Helene and Lotte Jacobi. See vol. i. p. 222 of our translation. (See the *Goethe-Jahrbuch* for 1881, p. 382.) At the close of the first paragraph of p. 221, vol. i., insert:—"A product of the overflowing wanton humour and spirits of this time was the drama *Satyros oder der vergötterte Waldteufel*. It represents a common adventurer who seeks by arrogant assumption to satisfy his greed for power and to appease the cravings of sense."

18. *Götter, Helden und Wieland*.—In the second edition Düntzer places this farce with *Prometheus* at the beginning of October 1773. The

couple of farces on Wieland and the Jacobis, which Goethe read to Schönborn (vol. i. p. 226), would accordingly be *Das Unglück der Jacobis* and *Götter Helden und Wieland*. Remove the mention of it from page 227 to the foot of page 223. The plan of *Prometheus* had been in Goethe's mind in June 1773, as well as the plan of *Faust*, vol. i. p. 218.

19. *Plan of Egmont*.—In the second edition Düntzer conjectures that the "beautiful new plan for a great drama," of which Goethe writes to Johanna Fahlmer, October 18, 1773, may have been the plan of *Egmont*, and the words quoted from a letter to Boie later on (vol. i. p. 229), "The sacrifice is prepared," etc., refer probably to *Egmont*, not to *Julius Cæsar*.

20. Düntzer thinks that the *Jahrmarktsfest zu Plundersweilern* is to be ascribed to this time, October 1773. It is probably a development of the satiric *Jahrmarkt* of April 1773, vol. i. p. 213, and see Article 12 of this Appendix.

21. *Goethe and Klinger*.—During the winter of 1773-4 a place of assembly for the mad doings of Goethe and the young geniuses of the *Sturm und Drang* period in Frankfurt, was the "smoky little room," in the humble house of Klinger's mother, on the *Rittergässchen*. There a party of these young friends met every Saturday evening and indulged in crack-brained pranks.

Klinger's youngest sister, Agnes, a beautiful and intellectual girl of sixteen, was a sympathetic partaker in the zeal for freedom of the young geniuses. Long after, Goethe refers to the smoky little room in a letter to Klinger, dated Weimar, December 8, 1811. (From the *Goethe-Jahrbuch* for 1880, p. 397, I extract a reference to Burkhardt's article in the *Grenzboten* for 1879: *Das Klingerhaus in Frankfurt*.)

22. *Prolog zu den neuesten Offenbarungen Gottes, verdeutscht durch Dr. K. Fr. Bahrdt*.—In the first edition Düntzer places this in the period that followed the completion of *Werther*, see vol. i. p. 237. He now believes it to have been written about January 1774. Bahrdt had published a kind of watery, diluted paraphrase of the New Testament, called *Die neuesten Offenbarungen Gottes*. This disgusted Goethe, and he wrote the dramatic scene mentioned above. Bahrdt was Professor of Theology in the University of Giessen. Goethe sent the thing to his friend Höpfner, a Professor of Law in Giessen, and Höpfner had it printed at once.

23. *Fastnachtsspiel, auch wohl zu tragieren nach Ostern, von Pater Brey dem falschen Propheten*.—When Goethe had completed *Werther* there was a load lifted from him, and a period of high spirits followed. During this period he wrote the satire above-named. Pater Brey, the False Prophet, is a conception which originated in a study of Leuchsenring's odious character, and his sentimental self-imposition on Caroline Flachsland, who was for a time taken in by his pretence. But Goethe carefully abstained from particular details which might lead the public to identify the character with its prototype. Only one well acquainted with

the circle would have guessed the secret. The *Fastnachtsspiel* or *Pater Brey* is to be ascribed to March 1774, vol. i. p. 237.

24. *Other work which belongs to the same period as Pater Brey.*—Goethe wrote in the March and April of 1774 some poems and songs, which have reference to Art. Moreover, he wrote that fresh, gallant lyric, *So ist der Held, der mir gefällt*. In this poem he takes his careless stand against the mawkish, effeminate note of the poems of Wieland, and of Wieland's imitators, especially of J. G. Jacobi and of the mild young writer of pastorals, Werthes, whom he met a few months later at Pempelfort, vol. i. p. 251. The student will find *So ist der Held* in *Der junge Goethe*, ii. 37.

25. *Klinger and Goethe.*—The account of Klinger, on page 240 of our translation, must be corrected and enlarged. This has been already partially done by Article 11. The student will now erase the sentence beginning, "When Klinger came back from Giessen," and, allowing the general account of Klinger to stand, will insert the following additions:—"To Goethe's loss of Merck's intimate companionship at this time must be added a temporary deprivation of the society of Klinger, who left Frankfurt to study law at Giessen. April 16, 1774, is the date of his matriculation as *studiosus juris*. Goethe had procured for the needy young fellow hospitable reception into the house of Professor Höpfner. He was unable to give him money, and indeed Klinger would not have taken money as a gift. But Goethe gave him the farces—the *Jahrmarktsfest zu Plundersweilern* and *Pater Brey*—with permission to do as he pleased with them—to tear them, to store them away, or to sell them." (The reader will here turn to the foot of page 262 of our translation and make a correction.) "Klinger was at this time occupied with his drama *Otto*, inspired by his admiration for *Götz von Berlichingen*. The friendship with Klinger was not broken off by this separation, but it lost some of its intimacy."

26. *Johanna Fahlmer's endeavour to mediate between Goethe and Wieland.*—On page 242 the golden wedding of the Schweitzer-Allesinas, on May 30, 1774, is mentioned. Goethe danced in May 31, the birthday of Max Brentano. He tells Frau von Laroche of this in a letter written at the beginning of June 1774, see the translator's footnote No. 3. In the same letter he writes:—"I have read the passages in the coming number of the Wieland's *Merkur* which relate to me. He treats the matter like a good fellow who sits firm in the saddle. I have never had any injury from him, and now I pardon him his blasphemies against my gods." We now know how Goethe obtained a sight of the pages of a number of the *Merkur* that was not yet published. The *Goethe-Jahrbuch* for 1881, p. 378, reprints a letter from Jacobi to Wieland, which should be dated June 8, not May 8, 1774. (It should accordingly be preceded by the letter reprinted on page 383, dated June 4, 1774.) In this letter Jacobi sends to Wieland an extract from a letter from Johanna Fahlmer,

received on June 6, 1774. This extract is a dialogue between Johanna and Goethe. Very soon after the golden wedding, probably on the day after, Goethe visited the Tante. He was at this time very anxiously awaiting the appearance of the new number of the *Merkur*. In this number Wieland would, he expected, take his revenge for the farce *Götter, Helden und Wieland*, which had been published by the mischievous Lenz. (See page 236 of our translation.) It was Johanna's design to shame him by showing him Wieland's generous and appreciative criticism of *Götz*, and his good-humoured notice of the farce. Jacobi had sent her the sheets of the unpublished *Merkur*. She placed the article on *Götz* before Goethe; after reading for a time he broke out into expressions of surprised pleasure and approval. Yet there was something in Wieland's tone that annoyed him. The "paternal manner" of Wieland, his conviction that Goethe will "in time" judge after another fashion—"In time! In time! yes, there it is, there it is! that is just the way my father speaks; the same dispute that I have with my father in matters politic I have with Wieland in these points." After this Tante Fahlmer made him read Wieland's notice of the farce. The skilfully calculated *bonhomie* of Wieland conquered him:—"We recommend this little work to all lovers of the *pasquin* manner as a masterpiece of persiflage and sophistic wit." Goethe grew red, and Tante saw that he was agitated. Then he said:—"He could not have done it better. Very good! I say it, henceforth for ever I must let him alone. Wieland gains a great deal with the public by this incident. I am completely exposed to derision."

After this Tante put the thumbscrews on him with regard to the farce on the Jacobis. For word of this farce had come to the ears of those satirised in it, one of whom was Johanna herself. "Since I was at Düsseldorf, has not some other pretty thing like the *Götter und Helden* dialogue been composed?" "Nothing, dear Tante," replied Goethe. "The *Satyros*?"—"No, that was done before you went away." "Nothing at all?" she persisted, "a friendly drama of the same kind," looking straight into his eyes. "You are honest, Goethe! So you must tell me."

Goethe.—"That I will.—Yes, dear Tante; ask and I will tell!"

Tante.—"The *Unglück der J * * **?"

Goethe.—"Yes, that is true. But that was written long ere I knew you all [it was about March 1773 that Goethe seems first to have become intimate with Johanna. See p. 212 of our translation], and was founded merely on anecdotes, on tittle-tattle, all from hearsay. All of you play ridiculous parts together in it. You too, Tante. No one but Lisette Runkel, Merck, and Dean Dumeix has read it [he forgot Höpfner (p. 237) and Klopstock (p. 242)], and no one else in the world shall hear or see it; it shall never again smell the light. And it has not been finished either—it is of no further account."

Tante.—"But must I really not hear it?"

Goethe.—"Dear Tante, it is impossible. Do not ask it."

After a good deal of talk between them it grew clear who the hero

was, and what had given rise to the farce. It was written immediately after the return of Merck and Goethe from Coblenz [therefore in September or October 1772. See Article 10 of this Appendix].

This conversation helps us to understand Goethe's visit to Jacobi a few months later, and his reconciliatory message to Wieland in December 1774.

It may be here fitly noted that the letter to Frau von Laroche quoted on p. 243 of our translation is a reply to a letter in which she had spoken of Wieland's utterance on *Götz*. Loeper observes that the pupil of Spinoza is recognisable in Goethe's observations on the Good and the Bad. These observations were evoked by a passage in which Wieland speaks of the man whose philosophy is founded on the principle that the Bad is Good, and the Good is Bad. The concluding sentences of Goethe's letter are explained by the following quotation from Wieland:—"Supposing also that a man, *who does not love us*, must for that reason be a bad man."

Düntzer notes in the new edition that the Alexandrine, *Un livre, croyez moi, n'est pas fort dangereux*, is a line of Voltaire's. Loeper observes that it would be a good motto for Goethe's *Epistle* to Schiller on Books and Reading (1795).

27. *Goethe in Ems*, July 17, 1774, vol. i. p. 249.—Late on the evening of the day on which he wrote *Des Künstlers Erdewallen* Goethe wrote under Lotte Kestner's silhouette, which he carried with him, "Lotte gute Nacht, am 17 Juli 1774."

Künstlers Erdewallen was sent off to Klinger, probably accompanied by the *Prolog*, which forms the introduction to the group of farces that form the *Puppenspiel*. These farces are *Künstlers Erdewallen*, *Jahrmarktsfest zu Plundersweilern*, and *Pater Brey*. As the two last-named had been given to Klinger in the spring of 1774 (see Article 25 of this Appendix) Klinger had now the whole *Puppenspiel* in his hands. He was in pressing need at the time and was trying to get money for them. They had been offered to Nicolai by Höpfner, but a reply from Nicolai had not yet come.

28. *Goethe, Klinger, and Wagner*, vol. i. pp. 262-263.—The reader will make some additions to this paragraph, and the modifications needful to bring it into consonance with the following:—About the time of the September Fair of 1774 Klinger was released from Giessen by holidays. He came to Frankfurt, his mind full of his wild play *Otto*. This play, as already noticed, is an imitation of *Götz*, but far exceeds *Götz* in violence of language. Klinger, Goethe, and their circle indulged in a wild "*geniales*" enthusiastic life during the holidays. Nicolai had refused to purchase Goethe's *Puppenspiel* (see Article 27), and now Weygand, the publisher of *Werther*, had, at Goethe's request, undertaken to bring it out, giving Klinger a moderate honorarium.

Wagner, whom Goethe had known in the old Strassburg time, had been banished from Saarbrücken because he espoused with too much zeal the cause of his master, President von Günderode, who had fallen under the displeasure of his prince. When he visited Frankfurt the bookseller

Deinet had persuaded him to settle there with the hope of making a living by literary work. His first place of abode after leaving Saarbrücken had been the university city Giessen, and while staying there he had come over to visit Goethe. That Wagner and Klinger were well acquainted was therefore one of the reasons why Goethe so easily admitted Wagner to intimacy, upon his migration to Frankfurt. Goethe was in a state of extreme agitation at this time, as he awaited the appearance of *Werther*, not on account of its reception by the reading public, for he knew that it must be very successful, but on account of the impression that it would make upon Lotte and Kestner. His agitation would seek an outlet in extravagant conduct, and probably Klinger was the more welcome on this account.

It will be observed by the student that the whole account of Klinger and Wagner had better be transferred from pp. 262-3 to p. 256 of our translation. The corresponding alteration has been made by Düntzer in the new edition.

29. *Goethe reading Faust to Boie*, October 1774, vol. i. p. 259.—To the quotation from Boie's letter Düntzer adds after "stamp of genius :"—"His *Dr. Faust* is almost finished, and seems to me the greatest and most characteristic of all."

30 *Claudine von Villabella*.—Among the dramatic plans mentioned at the foot of page 266 was that of the vagabond operetta *Claudine von Villabella* (see pp. 282, 288) whose scene is laid in Italy. We do not yet know where Goethe found the material of this play.

31. *Klinger, Kayser, and Wagner in the winter 1774-5*.—Insert on page 266 after "*Egmont*":—Just before Christmas 1774, Klinger came to stay a short time in Frankfurt. The friends led the old rollicking, crack-brained life together. Poor Wagner, who was painfully endeavouring to maintain himself, and who was now thinking of obtaining an appointment in some foreign country, found his best present consolation in the company of the young "geniuses." Klinger had already despatched his drama *Otto* to a publisher in Leipzig. Kayser was the victim of an unprosperous love for Sannchen, the daughter of the watchman belonging to the tower of the church where the elder Kayser was organist. The organist would not hear of marriage with a wife of such low rank, and his prohibition drove his son to despair, and made him meditate abandoning his native city. Yet the young fellow's grief proved no bar to his joining the life of mad merriment of his friends. In the early days of January 1775 Goethe sketched Klinger before his return to Giessen.

32 *Goethe's first meeting with the Stolbergs in 1775*, vol. i. pp. 284, 290.—It will be needful to modify the account of Goethe's first meeting with the Stolbergs, and of his subsequent visit to Switzerland in their company, in accordance with the following new matter. All stands which is not touched on in these additions. On May 3, 1775, Goethe writes to

Henriette Knebel :—"As usual I am living in a whirl, and in immoderateness of pleasure and of pain." Immediately after this Freiherr von Haugwitz of Silesia, a young man of twenty-three, arrived in Frankfurt. He came from Paris and had arranged to meet the young Counts Stolberg in Frankfurt, thence to proceed with them on a trip to Switzerland and Italy. In the time intervening between his arrival and the arrival of the Stolbergs he had grown very intimate with Goethe; when the Stolbergs came, indeed, they heard that Haugwitz was at Goethe's house and sent thither for him. Soon after, Goethe presented himself and supped that night with the Counts. They became warm friends in the first few hours. "He is a splendid man," writes Christian Stolberg to his elder sister. "A wealth of ardent feeling streams from every word, from every gesture; he is excitable and enthusiastic even to violence, but from amid that very violence the tender loving heart looks forth."

Klinger was staying in Frankfurt at the time of the Stolbergs' arrival. Since we saw him last he has rapidly finished a new drama, *Das leidende Weib*, and, as remarked on page 240 of our translation, had sketched Goethe in the Doctor in this play. Klinger became the inseparable comrade of the Stolbergs during their stay. When they visited Mainz on May 11, 1775, Klinger was with them. Goethe was, however, prevented from joining this expedition. On another occasion they all went to Offenbach together, and there Goethe introduced his friends to a beautiful maiden—a "rare creature"—with whom he flirted a few hours in the autumn.

A bad mistake, on page 286, due to an oversight of the translator may be mentioned here. For "*marriage* of the Hereditary Prince and Luise" read "*contract of betrothal*." The marriage of the young couple took place in October 1775. See vol. i. pp. 302 and 303; vol. ii. p. 374.

The Stolbergs arrived in Zürich on June 9, 1775, *one* day after Goethe (see p. 289). They had visited Goethe's sister in Emmendingen on their way.

On the day after the visit to the peasant Jakob Gujer (p. 289), the party sailed on the Lake of Zürich (June 13, 1775). They visited the convent of Einsiedeln. Goethe read to the Stolbergs a great deal from manuscript. Without doubt the scenes of *Faust* were part of what he read.

The exact date of Goethe's return to Zürich from the Lesser Cantons is now known to be June 25, 1775. An extract from the Diary of the Physical Society of Zürich, reprinted in the *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, i. 371, shows that the Stolbergs, Goethe, Haugwitz, and Passavant, were present on June 26, 1775, at a meeting of the Society. At this meeting Lavater read a paper on Physiognomy.

I derive from the *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, iii. 427, the following reference, which is here in place :—The *Grenzboten*, Band iv. Five Letters from F. L. Stolberg to J. H. Voss on the Swiss Journey of 1775, ranging in date from March 18 to July 29, 1775.

33. *Lili and Goethe in Offenbach*, vol. i. pp. 284, 293.—The name of

Lili's uncle in Offenbach at whose house she used to visit was not D'Orville but Bernard. The D'Orville who, with Goethe, accompanied her on horseback on August 3, 1775, was the husband of another niece of Bernard's. S. Bernard, to whom she was betrothed in June 1776, was a relative of her Offenbach uncle (p. 376).

34. *The Stolbergs in Weimar*, vol. i. pp. 315-316.—The date of the arrival of the Stolbergs in Weimar is not November 27, 1775. They came on the evening of November 26, having visited on their way the Court of Gotha, so unfriendly to Goethe, and Dalberg in Erfurt, and on their arrival in Weimar greeted the poet with loud rejoicing. But on the morning of November 27 he had to set out for Erfurt with the Duke. On that day the Stolbergs went to see Wieland, whom they found in raptures about their Wolf, and whom they thought remarkably amiable.

To the extracts from Christian Stolberg's letters, describing their life at Weimar, the new edition adds this from one of Friedrich Stolberg's :—"In the forenoons we were either with Goethe or Wieland, or we rode out with the Duke—sometimes on a hunt. After dinner there were games played, blind-man's-buff or run-the-gauntlet. Between seven and nine there was a concert or *vingt-un*. One afternoon Goethe read aloud his half completed *Faust*. It is a noble work. The Duchesses were powerfully affected by some scenes. The evening preceding the last day of our stay we were at Prince Constantin's [see p. 311]; the Duke, the Statthalter of Erfurt, an excellent man of understanding, Goethe, and many cavaliers of the Court, supped with us. We had soon finished, and were in high spirits, when the door suddenly opened, and lo ! the Duchess-Mother and the beautiful Frau von Stein stepped solemnly into the room each with a sword three yards long in her hand. They had come to dub us knights. We knelt, and the two ladies went pleasantly round the table from man to man. Afterwards we played blind-man's-buff a long time. . . . On the last evening after we had taken our leave at Court we supped with Goethe and Wieland alone."

35. *Klopstock, Friedrich Stolberg, and Goethe*, vol. i. pp. 332, 333.—Düntzer adds, in the new edition, some interesting particulars as to Friedrich Stolberg's behaviour at the time of Goethe's breach with Klopstock. To fully appreciate Stolberg's attitude we must remember that not long before he had written the extraordinary *Song of Freedom, from the Twentieth Century*. During his recent visit to Weimar he had shown this poem to Karl August, who was extremely pleased with it. Karl August asked whether he would not dedicate it to the "Great Friedrich," whereupon he wrote a bitter dedication of it to the King of Prussia in doggerel verse, and this, too, was well received. (See Düntzer's new edition, p. 263.)

But this singer of freedom and thirster for the blood of tyrants proved unable to understand Goethe's manly resentment of the foolish credulity of Klopstock. We find him calling Goethe "a *Starrkopf* in the highest

degree." ("Starrkopf" means a mulish, obstinate person.) In a letter to Klopstock, Stolberg writes:—"Goethe's obdurate will, which, if it were possible, he would gladly assert in opposition to God Himself, has often made me tremble for him;" nay, Stolberg thought that he remembered, ere he and his brother left Weimar, to have heard Goethe speak one day of giant intelligences which do not bow before even the eternal truths of Revelation. "God!" exclaims Stolberg, "what a medley, a Titan lifting his head against his God and now dizzied by the favour of a Duke." Perhaps, continues this silly letter, "Klopstock, who so early recognised what an iron neck Goethe's is, had been thinking of the sinner when he wrote the poem *Warning*." (This had come out in the last *Musen-almanach*.)

36. *Klinger in Weimar*, vol. i. p. 335.—Though Goethe received Klinger with cordiality, he was extremely concerned to learn that Klinger had given up his course of law study at the University shortly before it was completed, and had accordingly lost his degree. Klinger had literally played the truant from Giessen, hoping to obtain an appointment in Weimar by Goethe's influence. It was, however, absolutely impossible to Goethe to obtain a place for one of his friends in the Duke's service. In any case Klinger was at that time so unsuited for a place in the administration of Government that Goethe could not, in honesty, have recommended him to the Duke. What need had the Duke, or Weimar indeed, at that moment of a stormy dramatic poet! At the same time, Goethe knew well how dependent on Klinger was the poverty-stricken family in the bare little house in Frankfurt. It is no wonder that Goethe's heart was sore when he thought of the foolish act to which a foolish belief in his powers had led his friend.

The breach between Lenz and Goethe, in November 1776, is mentioned, vol. i. p. 362. Ere this Goethe had been estranged from Klinger by the latter's self-abandonment to loose living. To this cause we must add the bad offices of Lavater's mean *protégé*, the so-called *Kraft-apostel*, Christof Kaufmann. Kaufmann, who thought to worm himself into favour with Goethe at Klinger's expense, was only too successful in poisoning Goethe's mind. This he did the more easily because Klinger had withdrawn from intercourse with Goethe. Kaufmann's arts were employed to prevent a personal explanation between them. Klinger and Goethe held no communication for many years after this. In the beginning of the period of estrangement Klinger became a writer of dramas for the boards, and plunged deeper than ever into the excesses of the *Sturm und Drang*, and into a wild life of sensual pleasure. Later he went to Russia, entered the army, and rose to high rank. There was a friendly correspondence between Goethe and Klinger in their old age. See the *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, iii. 248-276, and vol. ii. of this translation, p. 428.

37. *Goethe and Karl August in Frankfurt*, 1779, vol. i. pp. 371-2.—Since the first edition was published the *Goethe-Jahrbuch* for 1881 has re-

printed a letter from the Frau Rath to the Duchess Amalia. The letter is dated 24th September 1779. We learn from it that the Duke and Goethe arrived in Frankfurt on September 18, 1779. Düntzer, in a long extract, permits Frau Aja to speak for herself. In 1778 the Duchess Amalia, on a trip to the Rhine, had visited Goethe's parental home. Hence her intimacy with the Frau Rath.

"His Serene Highness, our most gracious and best prince, in order to take us completely by surprise, alighted at a distance from our house; they came, accordingly, without any noise at all to our door, rang, walked into the blue room, etc. Your Serene Highness will now picture it; how Frau Aja is seated at the round table, how the door of the room opens, how, in that moment, her *Hätschelhans* falls on her neck, how the Duke remains for a while at some distance looking on at the maternal joy, how Frau Aja, like a drunken woman, at length runs up to the best of princes, half crying, half laughing, not knowing in the least what she ought to do, how the handsome *Kammerherr* von Wedel also shows all possible sympathy in her prodigious joy. Finally, the entry of the father; this passes description altogether; I feared lest he should die on the spot."

To the Duke's relief there were no princes or princesses at the Fair of Frankfurt: it was a great escape from boredom. On Sunday, September 19, 1779, the travellers went to a concert at the Red House, the largest inn in Frankfurt. On Monday and Tuesday they attended the theatre. Merck came over from Darmstadt "and behaved pretty well," says Frau Aja; "he is, indeed, never able to leave off the Mephistopheles completely, but his friends are used to it now." On Wednesday, September 22, 1779, about noon, Karl August and Goethe, accompanied by Merck, left Frankfurt. The reader will make a correction on page 372 at the beginning of the second paragraph.

38. *Goethe's visit to Schubart in 1779.*—Carlyle has made English readers thrill with indignation at the wrongs of poor Schubart, whom the tyrannical Duke, Karl of Württemberg, shut up without trial in the castle of Hohenasperg. Schubart was a passionate admirer of the young *Sturm und Drang* Goethe. On p. 55 of vol. ii. of this translation will be found a foolish notice of Goethe's Italian journey, from the paper edited by Schubart in 1788. Whether Goethe visited Schubart on the Swiss journey of 1775 is, I believe, not yet certain. It is, however, certain that when Goethe and Karl August were in Stuttgart at the close of 1779 (see vol. i. p. 381) they went to see Schubart at Hohenasperg. They were accompanied by *Domänenrath* Georg Hartmann, to whom Lavater had given them an introduction. Hartmann's account of the presence in Stuttgart of Goethe and Karl August is quoted in the *Goethe-Jahrbuch* for 1882, by his great-grandson, J. Hartmann.

39. The footnote No. 1, vol. i. p. 383, is superseded. There is no longer any doubt that Düntzer is correct in assigning January 14, 1780, as the date of the return of Goethe and Karl August to Weimar.

APPENDIX TO VOL. II.

1. *Herder's invitation to Göttingen*, vol. ii. pp. 74, 78, 79.—In the spring of 1789, when Herder was in Italy, he received a vocation to a professor's chair in the University of Göttingen. For the third time in Herder's life a Göttingen professorship seemed to be within his reach. In 1775 the intrigues of a coterie had put an end to the negotiation; in 1784, after a short deliberation, he had himself refused the chair. In 1789 his old friend Chr. Gottlob Heyne undertook the endeavour to persuade him to leave Weimar. The advantages of the professorship in Göttingen were forcibly urged by Heyne, whose appeal was supported by other voices.

The indecision, the timidity of soul, of Herder at this time are very remarkable. Full evidence of his pitiable state will be found in his correspondence with his wife in the book called *Herder's Reise nach Italien* (1859). Life had hitherto had much bitterness and disappointment for him; was it to be so always, or did this fresh offer from Göttingen really promise better things? His journey in Italy had not brought him the enjoyment that he hoped for, and it seemed a complete failure when contrasted with Goethe's pleasant artist life in Rome. The very importance of the issue of his choice made him indecisive and timid. Under these circumstances he received a letter from Goethe. It was forwarded on May 10, 1789, by Caroline Herder, and was received by Herder when in Parma :—

“I want this letter to meet you somewhere in your travel, as I hear from your wife that you cling more than is desirable to the thought of leaving this place and going to Göttingen. If it *is* your advantage, your economic gain, I am glad of it, I counsel it. But when we wish to make an exchange that shall benefit us we must not despise what is in our possession already. Do not form any resolve until you return, then let us weigh everything, and the welfare of you and of your children shall decide. For the present strive to calm yourself! Alone, without advice, without the voice of a friend, agitated by the multitude of phenomena, uneasy amid the discomforts of the journey—that is in truth no place to form a resolve which is to determine your future lot. The occasion demands

calculating, not feeling ; it is a time for deliberate pondering of advantages, not for thrusting a hand into a lottery-urn.

"The state that you and your wife are in at present makes me very uneasy. If you cannot rely in trust and confidence on a friend whom you have long known intimately, you are in danger of ruining yourselves for life.

"I repeat it : What concerns me is not the welfare of Weimar or Göttingen, but of you and yours. Consider that you are not as a young man who risks his individual fortune in the game—a fortune which may afterwards improve, though it be once injured ; but that your change would be made when you are in advanced years and have a large family, and that your spirit (*Gemüth*) and your wife's would not sustain the grief of finding the situation in Göttingen a failure, and its circumstances oppressive.

"Make a happy journey and come back to us refreshed, then we will consult, and your welfare shall be the highest law.

"Farewell. I have borne up stoutly and am well and happy. Yet I need in more than one relation your blessing and your aid, which you will not refuse me, even though your resolve should incline to departure from us. Farewell."

This letter shows that Goethe understood the Herders well. He wrote to Caroline Herder a little later :—"Only I beg you henceforth do nothing in the Electra mood, and be good and ask my advice. I may be mistaken in single instances ; in the general I will never fail. . . . Only write to him again and again not to engage himself to Göttingen further," (Caroline Herder was the passionate Electra contrasted with the divine repose of Iphigenia.)

Herder was, however, unable to respond to Goethe's friendliness. In his letters to Caroline he continually makes little of Goethe. The secret cause of this was one which Herder would probably have been ashamed to acknowledge. He was made jealous by the friendship of Caroline and Goethe. Long ago before he was married he had been jealous of Goethe, and in those days his letters to Caroline had been full of harsh remarks about the young friend of whom she wrote with such enthusiasm. So it was now with his letters from Italy. Moreover, the fundamental difference between Goethe and Herder as to the relation of art and morals was beginning to render Herder unjust to Goethe's poetry.

Meanwhile Goethe continued to urge Herder's claims on the Duke. On June 15, 1789, Caroline forwards to Herder a letter in which Goethe writes :—"The Duke has lately said to me that he will give you 1800 thalers annually in order to make you more easy in your domestic circumstances. Now if he pays your debts—that again is an increase to reckon on, of 200 thalers for ten years, not taking the interest into account. This as prefatory." Ere this Caroline had sent to Herder a statement, dated May 3, 1789, of the "heads" of the Duke's offer to Herder. Herder received it on May 31, 1789. He was not content with it, and after his return he succeeded in having it modified in his favour through the influence of

Goethe. Herder's distrust of the Duke made Goethe's task a by no means pleasant one. I now give the Duke's offer, and the changes in it which were confirmed by the Duke in August 1789. The Duke writes :—

"1. I will pay his debts, and in such a way that it will not become known to the public.

"2. I will make him Vice-President of Consistory, and upon Lyncker's death he shall be President.

"3. From the time of his return the private salary which he receives from me shall be 500 thalers instead of 300. [Herder demanded and obtained 700 thalers.]

"4. I will guarantee to secure him the Chancellorship of the University of Jena through my influence with the other states who have part in maintaining that University. [This Herder declined.]

"5. I will guarantee a widow's portion of 200 thalers annually to his widow. [Herder demanded and obtained 300 thalers.]

"6. I will provide for the expenses of his children's studies and for their establishment in life."

Herder in becoming Vice-President of Consistory gave up some church dues, by which he lost 112 thalers annually. Through Goethe's management he obtained compensation for this. The Duke every year made a gift of 50 thalers for the provisional education of Gottfried Herder and 50 thalers for August, while the Duchess Luise contributed 50 for Wilhelm. When Goethe brought word of this Caroline said to him in the presence of Herder, "Of course the Duke does not suppose that by these gifts he fulfils his promise to provide for our children's studies!" "No," replied Goethe. "We must, however," said she, "have a written assurance on this point from the Duke." "No," replied Goethe, with signs of vexation, "that is not necessary; we must not, now, when the Duke displays generosity, make him angry by such a demand." And so that matter rested for the time.

In order to lighten the demands on his purse the Duke resorted to a measure which turned out to be most injurious to Herder. Before Herder's appointment as Vice-President of Consistory a member of the Government, one of the senior Councillors of State, had always sat as Councillor of Consistory at the meetings of Consistory, and had acted as colleague of the President in matters of administration. For this he had received a salary of 200 thalers. To save this 200 thalers the Duke ordered that henceforth there should be no permanent Councillor of Consistory. The Councillors of State should in turn, each for a year, fulfil the duties of the post. "Let it be imagined," writes Caroline, "with what a temper all these gentlemen henceforth entered on their office—embittered against Herder, whom they looked on as the robber of their salary. Then, changing every year had bad results; it took each almost a whole quarter to become familiar with his manifold duties, and these duties were without interest to him, for what had he to gain by them?"

It will be shown in a later Article in this Appendix how the Göttingen

vocation and the incidents connected with it had consequences of great interest to the student of Goethe's life, because they are the proximate cause of the breach between Goethe and the Herders which occurred in 1795.

2. *Goethe in Erfurt in December 1789*, vol. ii. p. 82.—On December 1, 1789, Goethe went with Karl August to Erfurt. In the evening they were present at a Court *Assemblée*. An eye-witness describes the reception of the Duke. All the officers present went forward to meet him. He was dressed in his white-and-red regimental uniform, and in great cavalry boots, and was accompanied by Goethe and by *Kammerherr* von Wedel. "Goethe has grown much more formal, more courtier-like; he came marching along, in a cinnamon-brown, 'roast-meat' suit, *chapeau bas*, sword at side, paying compliments, like the most formal *Hofjunker*." The *Assemblée* was filled with curious observers of Goethe; but he played the part of a punctilious servant of his Duke with such thoroughness that our eye-witness could find nothing more worthy of remark. Goethe's offence against convention in the matter of Christiane Vulpius made him more exact in attending to external Court proprieties.

3. *Goethe and the Princess Galitzin*, vol. ii. pp. 112-113.—The time of Goethe's stay in Münster has become known through the book entitled *Die Fürsten Amalie von Gallitzin und ihre Freunde*, by Joseph Galland, which contains some heretofore-unprinted passages from letters of the Princess and her daughter. Goethe stayed in Münster December 2-5, 1792. (Thus the translator's note I on page 111 is superseded. Goethe's arrival in Pempelfort is more nearly fixed by a letter from Goethe to Heinrich Meyer, Düsseldorf, November 14, 1792. This letter is reprinted in Strehlke's *Verzeichniss von Goethes Briefen*, vol. i. p. 462. "*Seit acht Tagen* befinde ich mich hier bei meinem Freunde Jacobi," writes Goethe.)

In the new edition Düntzer makes use of the correspondence between Goethe and the Princess published in the *Goethe-Jahrbuch* for 1882. On December 2, 1793, the Princess writes:—"Without knowing it, you have been the occasion of many a delightful hour to me in Holstein." (She had been ordered by her physicians to travel on foot for the benefit of her health, and in the summer of 1793 she had made a pilgrimage to Stolberg's home in Eutin.) "As one who had seen you face to face, I was repeatedly called on to speak of you, to which I am not very loath. To Fritz Stolberg especially it was pleasurable to speak of you, because he loves you so dearly; and I know no one who accepts the beautiful and good in all forms with a more ingenuous, childlike sense than he. With many others I was for one reason especially glad to speak of you, viz. because I conceive myself to have a somewhat more penetrative knowledge than most of them of that *singular* nature of yours, at which so many even of the noblest and best men are occasionally amazed incorrectly, or are not amazed. Without, however, finding any ground for pride in this knowledge! for I feel too sincerely that had you taken pains to play the Proteus

with me, as you have with so many worthy folk, it would not have gone a bit better with me. And therefore I will not, on my side, play the ingrate with you ; rather, I will plainly confess that I do not ascribe the openheartedness and simplicity with which you constantly displayed yourself to me—but especially in a few hours that I can never forget—that I do not ascribe them to dislike of the trouble of feigning, but *to a reason* which I find in my heart so often as I think of you. How often I think of you, you will only be able to imagine in proportion as you transpose yourself from the rounded sphere of your proud sufficiency to yourself, into my neediness and insatiety, and thence look back to the planet Goethe.”

When the Princess was at Eutin in August 1793, she had written to Goethe, and had enclosed a very affectionate letter from Friedrich Stolberg, with a birthday greeting, for which Goethe thanked Stolberg cordially. The regret and annoyance which Goethe felt in November 1795, on reading Stolberg's preface to the *Selected Dialogues of Plato* (see vol. ii. p. 140), was the more intense because Goethe had really loved Stolberg, and now he found him engaged in a kind of obscurism of truth and intelligence. There is a considerable likeness between the case and that of Lavater (vol. i. pp. 452-454).

On January 24, 1795, the Princess writes:—"I can make myself thoroughly melancholy, dear Goethe, when I consider how long it is since I wrote to you last, and under what circumstances I have been silent. Precisely since the time when you sent such a straightforward and friendly reply to my inquisition into your conscience, an inquisition only justified by my true, unselfish love for you ; precisely at the time when Jacobi, as he has told me, wrote to you that he had revealed to me your so-called hypocrisies—never, indeed, more than at that time did I feel a greater constraint to open myself to you ; to at least say to you : that your hypocrisies have not in the least bit diminished my love for you ; that in so far as you really, when with us, thought less of Christ than you showed, it was because you felt no need to think better of Him, (and even had you felt this need, you could not seek to satisfy it from such spiritual poverty as mine), for this I owe you thanks ; since in your behaviour I saw only tender forbearance, which I would not call hypocrisy ; (though this word, in the mouth of the most honest among the children of men, who confessed himself to be a partner in the wrong-doing, could not frighten me). My conception of you, dear Goethe, is based neither on what you have said of Christ and of Religion, nor on the opinions which you may have concealed by being silent ; but on the belief, that you not only endeavour after an external comprehension of the Beautiful in all its species and forms, wherever you become aware of it by that most vivid, most rich, most delicate emotional sympathy for the Beautiful, with which you are endowed by Mother Nature, but that you endeavour to adopt into your own being as much of the Beautiful as you can, by *a life resembling it*, (as Plato expresses himself in his beautiful letter to Dion . . .) ; that the portion of what in my eyes is Beautiful, or in my eyes is uncomely, which you do

not seek to adopt to yourself or to repel, does not appear to your vision under this or that form ; and that so soon as it does so appear, so soon will it become one of the objects of your regulative effort."

And to this belief concerning Goethe the Princess adhered all her life, recognising in him and loving the noble Man, one of the most splendid of the revelations of the Primitive Beautiful.

At the close of the year 1795. Goethe and Schiller began to compose the stinging little couplets called *Die Xenien* (vol. ii. pp. 141, 149). There were none whom the *Xenien* hit harder than Goethe's old friends Lavater and the Stolbergs, whom both Goethe and Schiller considered the sworn enemies of mental and spiritual clearness, and of pure Art. And of all those who loved Goethe because they understood him well, there was none so bitterly wounded by this as the noble Princess Galitzin. The student will find the utterance of her pain in the letter dated Münster, November 31, 1801 (printed, *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, iii. 297-299). It was a reply to a letter in which Goethe, after an interval of silence, had reopened their correspondence. When at Gotha in August 1801 (see vol. ii. p. 294) Goethe had spoken to the Duke of Gotha about buying the Hemsterhuis collection of gems. (Goethe had returned these to the Princess in 1797.) The Duke appeared to have some inclination to the purchase when Goethe spoke to him, and in the earlier part of October 1801 Goethe wrote to ask the Princess whether she was still willing to sell the gems, as she had been in former years. She replied in the affirmative ; but the Duke disappointed them after all.

The Princess's letter gave great pleasure to Goethe ; she assured him that her affection was cordial as ever. "Act like a Jew !" she writes, with reference to the bargain about the gems. "Perhaps as a reward for this love, you will be lifted from the Old Testament into the New. This and all conceivable good He will give you, whom I daily implore for you.—Your true Amalie." Then she adds :—"Stolberg, who, as you know, now lives here, has not come back from a journey to Wernigerode. If he knew that I am writing to you, he would certainly give me many affectionate messages for you, for he is one of those who have never ceased to feel what you are and to love you." The Princess died in 1806.

4. *The breach between Goethe and the Herders in 1795.*—In Article 1 of this Appendix the negotiations which ended in Herder's declining Göttingen and accepting the Vice-Presidency of Consistory in Weimar have been described. Their history is important in a *Life of Goethe*, because they are an important factor among the causes which led to the estrangement between Goethe and Herder, which lasted from 1795 until Herder's death in 1803.

When Herder found the post of Vice-President of Consistory rendered so much more laborious, by the withdrawal of a paid Councillor of Consistory, he accused the Duke in his heart of faithlessness. The overwork thrown upon him brought on severe rheumatic illness, and he was com-

pelled to leave Weimar repeatedly, and seek restoration at a watering-place. So bitter against Karl August was he, that, when his elder sons were beginning their more advanced studies, he omitted to claim the aid which was promised in the sixth article of the Duke's offer of 1789. But at the close of 1794, the Herders being in great need of money, Caroline Herder wrote to Goethe that, as in the spring their sons Wilhelm and Adalbert must begin to apply themselves to their future calling, they would ask Goethe to have the kindness to support them in their petition to the Duke for the loan of 1000 thalers for eight years. We know of this letter only from Caroline Herder's account; the original must have contained such abuse of the Duke and of Goethe himself as rendered it impossible to notice it, for he made no reply. Five weeks later he came to see Herder. Caroline seized the opportunity, and, in her husband's presence, she requested an answer to her letter. "He walked up and down the room; my husband and I sat and looked at him; he scarcely glanced at us, looked straight before him, and murmured something—as well as we could make out, 'Nicht darauf antworten!'" ("Not reply to it!").

The Duke was very angry with Herder and his wife. For years they had told him nothing of their affairs, and he considered that he had at least a right to be consulted about the future professions of their sons. Imprudent things that Caroline Herder had said of him had come to his ears through the offices of tale-bearers. If Herder had in due time asked him for the annual contribution needed for the young people's studies, the Duke would have easily and gladly paid it according to the contract. It was a very different thing to be asked for a large sum unexpectedly; and the royal coffers of Weimar were not rapidly filled in those hard times, when constant wars were draining the treasuries of all European States. This statement of the case, which is gleaned from letters a little subsequent to the date at which we now are, will aid us in understanding the Duke's attitude. On March 12, 1795, urged by Caroline, Herder himself wrote to the Duke asking for the loan. The Duke returned an evasive answer. Upon this Caroline Herder wrote to the Duchess begging her to support Herder's request. The Duchess sent for Caroline and reminded her of the Duke's firmness of will; there would be no use in seeking to change his decision. The Duchess, however, gave her 300 thalers for Wilhelm, and desired that when the time for Gottfried's taking his degree drew near she (the Duchess) should be informed of it.

Thus the matter remained during the spring and summer of 1795. In the autumn of 1795 the passionate Electra nature of Caroline could bear no longer delay, she resolved to seek justice! and to appeal to the written promise of 1789. She wrote to the Duchess stating what the promise had been and praying her to endeavour to have it fulfilled. She wrote at the same time, September 21, 1795, to Goethe begging for his aid, and enclosing extracts from her letter to the Duchess. On September 22, Goethe replied with heartfelt sympathy:—"How grieved I am by the disclosure of your circumstances I cannot express to you. I will omit no

effort to effect what you wish. May I soon be able to give you good news!" A few days after this the Duke appointed a permanent Councillor of Consistory, with the old salary of 200 thalers.

A few weeks later the Duchess sent for Caroline, and told her the Duke's plan for aiding the Herders as to their children. The Duke would pay the cost of Gottfried's doctor's degree at Easter. August Herder should not for the present go to the University, but should work for a while in the Chancery of Weimar, and Adalbert should be set to learn farming on an estate in the Duchy of Eisenach. When Caroline came home and thought over this proposal, she felt it impossible to mention it to Herder. She wrote to the Duchess: "He would feel it an intrusion on his paternal rights, that the Duke should desire to arrange the callings of his sons." She calls on the Duke to fulfil the contract: "My husband has performed his part of it conscientiously, and more than duty demanded, and has lost his health by doing so. If he had known that the Duke would deprive him of his colleague in the Consistory, the greatest promises would not have detained him. I alone know what he has suffered in this—which the Duke can never make good to him. He has fulfilled his duty—more than he ought. His Serene Highness will now perform his part of the contract." Again: "It is easy for His Serene Highness to set apart a definite provision for each son; and I most respectfully beg your Serene Highness to bring it about that the sum for Gottfried be most graciously paid to us at once." Caroline sent a copy of this letter to Goethe on October 14, 1795. He was at that time in Eisenach (see vol. ii. p. 139) awaiting the Duke's commission to Frankfurt. As it was supposed that he had gone to Frankfurt the letter was sent thither, and it only reached Weimar on October 28, 1795. Caroline entreats Goethe thus: "Recall compassionately to your memory that you were the instrument of the Duke in the negotiations [about Göttingen in 1789]. Do not suffer the Duke so insolently to break his promise. It is in this instance your duty to save the Duke's honour and morality. How has my husband deserved this faithlessness? Do not let us be driven to extremity, I urgently entreat you. I can prove that my husband brought his great illness on himself by the continual labour of the Consistory. Who shall make good to us this loss? I entreat you, for God's sake, save your own honour and the Duke's! I have been silent long enough, and I do not hesitate to say the plainest things to you. We need money, and must obtain it from the Duke; he owes it to us." Goethe replied on October 28, 1795: "I hope that things have changed since your letter was written. I cannot reply to what you say; we are too far apart in our way of thinking to be comprehensible to each other; and yet I do not wish to be silent. Perhaps Knebel will undertake to hear what I think." Caroline replied: "I am perfectly willing to hear what you think through Herr von Knebel, and whether the words: *Further, I will pay the cost of the studies of his children*, can be made to bear any other sense than that which they utter. . . . O listen to the voice of your

conscience ! All the honest support which you now give to the just demand of a family of seven children will be richly repaid to you by Providence at a time when you look not for it. It would be very human if you referred me to Herr Knebel ! I will hear you calmly. Let us not treat the matter as enemies—appoint an hour, I earnestly entreat.”

Though Goethe, just at this time awaiting Christiane’s confinement, was in a mood for ready sympathy with trouble and for charity, he felt it impossible to continue such a correspondence. He could not continue to receive letters frantically accusing himself and the Duke as unprincipled men, who needed to be solemnly reminded of their sacred duty. It was evident, too, that Caroline would cling to her fixed idea in defiance of all argument. Goethe accordingly resolved once for all to utter himself to her in a written statement of his view of the affair, and thus bring his direct communication with her to a close. On October 30, 1795, he wrote : “ I take up my pen, not in order to modify your opinion, but in order to place mine before you. . . . A personal conversation with you would not be advisable in these passionate moments ; we should not convince one another. You have already written to me what I ought not to read, I must expect in a conversation to hear what I may not hear.” Goethe then proceeds to an exact discussion of her charges against the Duke, and shows how unjust those charges are. He then continues : “ You calumniate the Duke and the Duchess, you tell me of your hasty step, and summon me with reproaches and threats to do good offices for you and yours, while at the same moment by your acts you snatch the power from my hands. Already, perhaps, you can imagine how after such conduct I am compelled to regard your violent passionate outbreaks, your illusion that you alone are perfectly in the right, your impression that no one but you has a notion of honour, a feeling of conscience. I permit you to hate me as you would any other stage villain, I only beg you to form a clear conception of me, and not to suppose that I will be converted in the fifth act. . . . By the Duke’s offer your future was secured for some time, the past (we shall omit old reckonings against one another) could have been set straight by some arrangement, and we might have secured a cheerful prospect. But the evil lies much deeper. I pity you, that you must seek support from persons whom you do not love and whom you hardly respect, in whose existence you have no pleasure, and whose gratification you feel no call to promote. In sooth, it is easier to make ado in extreme moments about the obligations of another towards us, than by an even course of life and conduct to obtain those benefits for which, after all, we must incur the debt of gratitude. Believe this, however : through all your arguments and demands your natural disposition is plainly seen. How does it contribute to make things more pleasant that August, during his short stay here, says to every one who will hear him : ‘ I am choosing the profession of mining because no one knows how long the present government will last, but miners will always be needed.’ These are the family sentiments calculated to incite a prince to aid in the bringing up and settlement of chil-

dren !” After declaring that he will not read any reply to this letter, and will not again speak of what has occurred, Goethe closes thus : “ If you can command yourself to approach the Duke on the subject of the children’s education and settlement, if you can make reasonable proposals as to the past and future, let me hear them through Knebel. I know well that people return no thanks for the possible, to him from whom they have demanded the impossible ; but that shall not prevent me from doing what I can for you and yours.”

Such was the shrill ending of the friendship between Goethe and the Herders—the Herders who many years before had given one another a mutual pledge never to misunderstand Goethe again.

Goethe kept his promise to Caroline, and he succeeded in obtaining for Herder a grant of 1200 thalers, 600 to be paid in the beginning of the new year 1796 and the rest at Easter 1796. Moreover, the Duke after this paid large annual yearly contributions towards the education of Herder’s sons August, Emil, and Rinaldo.

The student who is anxious for exact knowledge of this episode in Goethe’s life should obtain volume xliii. of the *Preussische Jahrbücher* and read the three articles of Dr. Bernhard Suphan. Dr. Suphan prints letters from the Herders’ *Remains* which had not hitherto been published, and passages from Caroline Herder’s *Recollections* which their editor, Georg Müller, had suppressed.

5. *Goethe and Böttiger*, vol. ii. pp. 197-198.—The *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, ii. 250-252, has printed two letters which Goethe wrote to Bertuch, the editor of the *Journal des Luxus*, about the theatrical criticisms of Böttiger. The first letter was dated January 3, 1802. Bertuch soon after sent Goethe Böttiger’s half-printed article on *Ion*. In the second letter, dated January 12, 1802, Goethe writes :—“ I can only say that if you are not yourself disposed to set matters right, I go immediately to the Duke, and bring the whole affair to a head. For I will either be relieved of office at once or be secured against such infamies for the future. That perpetually busy distorter of truth may exercise his juggling arts in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* or where he will, but I will no longer suffer them to be practised in Weimar against me in my official capacity. I request your statement on the matter before four o’clock ; with the stroke of four my representation goes to His Serene Highness the Duke.”

6. *Goethe’s period of depression in the beginning of 1803*, vol. ii. pp. 206-209.—Düntzer in the new edition adds some interesting details to his account of this period. One of the causes of Goethe’s heart-sickness was undoubtedly Caroline Jagemann’s excessive power in all the affairs of the theatre. “ Die Jagemann imponirt *quantum satis* !” writes Christian Vulpius, the brother of Christiane, to Nicolaus Meyer (*Goethe-Jahrbuch*, ii. 417).

On February 7, 1803, Christian writes :—“ Kotzebue has been banished from the country. He is now selling his garden at Jena. . . . Kotzebue

has made himself hated everywhere. Goethe does not reply to him, but he shall be chastised nevertheless."

On February 26, 1803, Christian writes:—"I am very much grieved about the *Geheimerath*. During seven weeks he has not left the house, and lately when he went into the open air in his garden he fell down in a swoon. . . . The Court of the Dowager-Duchess is almost at open enmity with Goethe, and every one there takes the side of the rascal Kotzebue. . . . The people do not deserve Goethe. That scoundrel has even a faction here; can you imagine it? Only the Duke stands firmly by Goethe, and has forbidden his territory to Kotzebue."

On March 12, 1803, Christian writes:—"That the *Geheimerath* is really ill, though not externally, is certain. He has not been beyond the hall-door now for nine weeks. The Kotzebue affair has been very hard on him, and he has a great deal of vexation caused by the *cantatrice* Jagemann, who is *Everything* now. . . . The *Geheimerath* has a concert every Tuesday. The opera-singers sing at these concerts. This week the Duke, the Princess [Caroline], and Prince Bernhard attended. He is now perfecting many poems and his play *Die natürliche Tochter*. . . . Every Sunday two actors and an actress dine with the *Geheimerath*."

On March 17, 1803, Christian writes:—"Things are pretty much the same with us as when I wrote to you a week ago. Goethe still remains indoors. The Duke said to him lately: 'If I were able to make a sun, I would send one into your house to you.'"

On March 20, 1803, we find Christian telling of the performance of Schiller's *Braut von Messina* (see the note on page 208). "Yesterday *Die Braut von Messina* was at last given, and many hundred Jena students who were present—season tickets not being available—were uncommonly pleased, so well pleased that at the end of the piece they joined in a loud *vivat* to the poet, which was proposed by Herr Dr. Schütz of Jena, a thing which *never* happened in this theatre before." Delighted as Goethe was with the success of Schiller's play, he had to punish the offence against the rules of the Ducal Theatre.

[Christian's letters to Nicolaus Meyer are skilfully used by Düntzer, in adding little touches to the narrative during the following years, 1803-6. Some of these details, however, though so well adapted for insertion in a narrative, are not important enough for the special notice of an Appendix like this.]

7. *Deaths of Christian's half-sister and aunt*, vol. i. p. 237.—Christian Vulpus writes on April 19, 1805:—"August is in Frankfurt with his grandmother. Christel [Christiane] is well, but Ernestine has brought on consumption by her dancing and made it worse, and even Starke despairs of saving her." Ernestine lived until the beginning of 1806. On January 7, 1806, Christian writes:—"This morning about eleven o'clock my sister Ernestine gently fell asleep for ever. I am deeply grieved. She is the ninth of a series of brothers and sisters who have

died. We have foreseen her death during the last six months, she was wasting away, and yet we weep now. . . . We do not yet venture to tell the *Geheimerath*, that Ernestine is dead. [Goethe was in very bad health.] Everything agitates and pains him dreadfully. He is not master of his emotions."

Again on March 3, 1806, Christian writes :—"The day before yesterday, at seven in the morning, our good old aunt died of an apoplectic stroke after having an attack of chest-illness for two days." This old aunt and Ernestine Vulpius had lived in Goethe's house probably since 1794. See vol. ii. 122, and Düntzer's new edition, page 465.

8. *The completion of Faust.*—To the various notices of Goethe's work at *Faust*, 1798-1806 (see vol. ii. pp. 162, 163, 184, 186, 191), add the following :—The work which Goethe did when on February 7, 1801, he turned again to *Faust* (see vol. ii. p. 191) was the preparation of a clean transcript of the *Brockenszene*. Before going to Oberrossla on March 25, 1801 (p. 192), he filled the first great gap in his *Faust*. On October 22, 1804, Christian Vulpius writes :—"That Goethe will never again write any poetry, I do not believe, and just for this reason, that at this moment he has something under his pen ; his *Faust*, too, he means to finish." (Probably the unnamed work that Goethe had on hand was a fore-piece. See vol. ii. p. 222.) In the spring of 1806 Goethe finished the First Part of *Faust* between March 21 and April 25. At this time the prose *Wald und Höhle* was written. Cotta, returning from the Leipzig Fair, took away the manuscript in great joy. *Faust* was published in volume viii. of the new edition of Goethe's works, which appeared in 1808. See vol. ii. of this translation, p. 260.

9. *The French in Weimar, October 1806*, vol. ii. pp. 242-246.—The letters of Christian Vulpius, *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, ii. 423-424, and the new documents printed by Keil in his book *Goethe, Weimar und Jena im Jahre 1806*, have filled gaps in the narrative of Goethe's life during October 1806. In the new edition Düntzer has drawn on these two new sources, and has moreover re-examined Riemer's account. The documents which Keil prints are a collection laid aside by Goethe himself, and labelled : *Acta, die traurigen Folgen des 14 Octobers 1806 betreffend*, viz. *Documents relating to the melancholy sequel of October 14, 1806*. The reader will supplement the narrative of vol. ii. pp. 242-246 from the following :—

When at about five o'clock on the afternoon of October 14, 1806, the cannonade having ceased, French hussars began to enter the silent deserted streets of Weimar, Riemer and Goethe's son hurried to meet them with bottles of wine and beer. Many other citizens did the same. Goethe joined one group, drew from his blue overcoat a bottle of wine and handed it to a chasseur on horseback, who received it with a nod of satisfaction and stowed it away safe in his cloak. Then Goethe handed a package of tobacco to another rider, but was taken aback by the inquiry, Is it good tobacco? He replied smiling, that he could not say, because he was not a

smoker himself. At that moment some shots were heard at a distance, and the cry "Qui vive?" The soldiers rode off, and Goethe hastened away.¹

It was after this that Wilhelm von Türkheim came to Goethe and that Riemer saw the two going to the Castle. Düntzer in the new edition corrects "Augereau" in Goethe's message to his home to "Ney," adopting the theory of Riemer's correctness. (See the translator's footnote, p. 243.)

Among those who took refuge in Goethe's house during the sack of Weimar were Christian Vulpius and his wife. Hear the plaint of Christian to Nicolaus Meyer: "Weimar, October 20, 1806.—What a calamity has befallen us! On the 14th, the unhappy battle of Jena lost, in the afternoon at five o'clock the sack of our city began and lasted thirty-six hours, and has stripped me of everything. For three days we were not in our house. . . . The fearful night, howling, lamentation, and fire,—ah God! and my wife and the child for hours in the cold night beneath the open sky in the Park! Something good: Yesterday the *Geheimerath* Goethe married my sister. His house has been spared. He has marshals in it continually." We had better take at once all that Christian has to tell us. On November 10, 1806, he writes:—"From the 15th to the 17th October, we were in the house of the *Geheimerath* Goethe, and our own house with all that was in it was free to any one who liked to occupy it. And that was done with a vengeance! About sixteen men lived in it, until at length, Napoleon needing books from the Library, grenadiers, upon the requisition of his engineer d'Alma, were stationed in my house. On the 18th October I moved into it, but in what condition did I find it? Let me be silent as to that! Then daily billeting of soldiers on us, one time we had ten men, and no money, no provisions! . . . My sister helped us, but it has cost the *Geheimerath* himself more than 2000 thalers—twelve *eimer* of wine alone. His house has not been sacked; he averted this on the first evening by wine and prudence, then he obtained a safeguard, as General Victor, Marshals Ney, Lannes, and Augereau lodged with him, at times twenty-eight beds in his house; but it has been a hard time for him, yet he is well, for which God be thanked."

On October 17, 1806, Goethe made the following entry in his private papers:—"We are alive! our house remains unplundered and unfired, saved as by a miracle. The Duchess has lived through the most terrible hours with us; to her we owe our sole hope of safety in the future, as at present the preservation of the Castle. The Emperor of the Occident resides in it." The last sentence is erased and "The Emperor is come" substituted. On that day Napoleon left Weimar, and Goethe wrote to Günther the letter quoted on page 244.

Dentzel, the Commandant whom Napoleon left behind at Weimar, had been once a pastor; and it was in Jena that he had studied theology. He was a humane and courteous man, and on being appointed Com-

¹ The little scene in which Goethe figures is described in a book which I have not seen. Keil gives its name in a footnote: *Aus Goethe's Leben. Von einem Zeitgenossen* (W. C.), Leipzig, 1849. (This book, not Luden's *Rückblicke*, is the authority which the translator's note on page 244 ought to have mentioned.)

mandant of Weimar he did his utmost to reduce the disorder and to diminish the sufferings of the inhabitants. In the *Tag- und Jahres-Hefte* for 1807 Goethe notices the friendliness which Dentzel displayed. On October 17, 1806, Goethe and Wieland dined with him. Dentzel had ere this sent the following note to Goethe:—"The General-Adjutant of the Imperial Staff begs Herr *Hofrath* Goethe to be quite free from anxiety. The subscriber, the Commandant of the city of Weimar, will, at the request of Marshal Lannes and in respect of the great Goethe himself, take all measures to provide for the safety of Herr Goethe's house.—G. F. DENTZEL." On October 18, 1806, Dentzel wrote to Goethe: "I believe myself to be doing Herr *Hofrath* Goethe the greatest service in allotting to him as guest Monsieur Denon, member of the Institut National and Inspector-General of Arts and Museums." Goethe gave a warm welcome to Denon. On this day he sent to Dentzel as a token of gratitude and friendship a handsome set of Wieland's *Works* with this inscription:—

"To General and City-Commandant Dentzel is dedicated this copy of the Works of our common Friend Wieland, with earnest gratitude for protection and kindness in terrible days, by Goethe, on October 18, 1806; and do not forget the trefoil of the 17th."

"The trefoil of the 17th" is the little group of *three* friends assembled at Dentzel's table.

In the weeks that follow we find Goethe very active on behalf of the University of Jena and its institutions. He constitutes himself a centre to which complaints and reports flow, and he spares no trouble to get grievances redressed. The private wants of his friends also were relieved by his solicitude and generosity. Keil's book has done the great service of enabling us to prove the large-hearted, humane Goethe's existence in this period. It had been assumed by the many who are never anxious to believe good things of our great men—who are, on the contrary, apparently anxious to prove them selfish and commonplace—that during the distress of Weimar Goethe "did nothing for the common weal, was not, in fact, at all concerned about it, retired into his own private existence, and was troubled about nothing but his manuscripts." This theory is now no longer possible. Its assumptions are disproved by exact documentary evidence, and for the thousandth time in the narrative of Goethe's life, charity where we are ignorant has proved to be true wisdom.

10. *Goethe's need of money*, 1812.—At the top of page 269 of vol. ii. it is observed that the dangerous political situation agitated Goethe very painfully in March 1812, and he fled to Jena, and thence to Karlsbad. Düntzer adds in the new edition that Goethe was hard pressed for money at this time, and that he had to write from Karlsbad to Cotta, asking an increase of the sum paid for *Dichtung und Wahrheit*. Cotta cheerfully granted his request.

11. *Riemer and Goethe*, vol. ii. p. 276.—Riemer became a professor in the *Gymnasium* of Weimar at Easter 1812, and left Goethe's house. That Goethe three years earlier had thought of such an appointment for

Riemer as desirable is proved by a letter printed in the *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, Band i. (1880). On May 19, 1809, Goethe writes to Riemer from Jena:—"I consider the occurrence of yesterday a fortunate one, for the bad humour to which you have lately yielded must sooner or later bring about a scene, and I confess that you have been putting my patience to hard tests." However Goethe will subdue his irritation, and they will again try to get on together as before. At the same time, he recommends that Riemer should look out for some appointment.

Here, too, may find place Düntzer's mention of the disagreement between August Goethe and Riemer which occurred in 1816. The reader may suppose the following to be inserted on page 334 of vol. ii. :—August after the death of his mother entered with zeal into the management of household affairs, and though Goethe would not cede his general authority to August, and even desired that it should be externally manifest that he was the master, we find August acting on his own judgment. We know of a quarrel between August and Riemer in the period following close on Christiane's death. The *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, Band ii. (1881), publishes a letter from Goethe to Riemer. It is dated July 19, 1816. On July 20 Goethe was to start with Meyer for the Rhine (see vol. ii. p. 337). Goethe writes:—"Before leaving I must say how much it pains me to see you, my good Riemer, in such a relation to my son that I have not been able to invite you to my house. May all be set right by my return."

12. *Goethe and Beethoven*, vol. ii, pp. 281-2.—The reader will supplement the account of the first edition with the following particulars. The *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, vol. ii. pp. 263-264 publishes a letter from Goethe to Count Dietrichstein, dated Karlsbad, June 23, 1811. In this letter Goethe thanks Dietrichstein for having sent him some of Beethoven's compositions to Goethe's songs. Ludwig Geiger observes that this letter is especially interesting, because there is but one other letter printed, in which Goethe utters an opinion on Beethoven's compositions. Goethe writes:—"Though I am not in a position to pronounce an artistic criticism on these compositions, I can at least say this, that I have derived great pleasure as well from their grace as from a certain singularity of character." The other utterance upon Beethoven's compositions is in a letter to Marianne Willemer, dated Weimar, July 12, 1821. It is a reply to her enthusiastic praise of Beethoven's music to *Egmont*. The passage will be found on page 159 of *Goethe und Marianne* (1878).

Another point of contact between Goethe and Beethoven has to be mentioned. The *Goethe-Jahrbuch* (i. 374-5) reprints a letter from Beethoven to Bettina, dated Vienna, February 10, 1811. I quote a passage from the letter:—"If you write to Goethe about me, seek out all words that may express to him my passionate reverence and admiration. I am myself on the point of writing to him about *Egmont*, which I have set to music, and in truth merely through love for his writings, which make me happy; but who can return sufficient thanks to a great poet, the most precious jewel of a nation."

13. *Goethe and Friedrich Stolberg*.—In June 1812 Goethe met Fritz Stolberg in Karlsbad. Goethe went to Stolberg of his own accord. Stolberg writes:—"He was very friendly, showed emotion and joy, and I too was suffused with recollection of the long past days." But notwithstanding Goethe's cordial and trustful behaviour, Stolberg was unable to judge him with fairness; and we find him adhere to his old distorted conception of Goethe as a hypocrite and a vain ambitious man. It is a relief to turn to the judgment of Goethe in the letters of the noble Princess Galitzin, or to Goethe's generous utterances on Stolberg himself.

Goethe's grief upon Stolberg's death in 1819 is noticed, vol. ii. p. 340. Düntzer in his new edition mentions how in June 1816 Goethe sent a letter to Stolberg by Knebel's son. In this letter he speaks of the recent death of his wife. Stolberg's reply was friendly. "I feel with you in your sad loss as it becomes so old and true a comrade, who commends himself to your remembrance from the bottom of his heart."

14. *To Nineteen Friends in England*, vol. ii. p. 432.—This is the title of the poem with which Goethe acknowledged the gift of a seal. It was published in *Chaos*, and is dated there August 28, 1831. In a book which appeared immediately after Goethe's death, *Goethe's letzte literarische Thätigkeit, Verhältniss zum Ausland, und Scheiden, nach den Mittheilungen seiner Freunde dargestellt*, by Dr. Karl Wilhelm Müller, the gift is described in detail, then the letter is given with the subscription: *From Fifteen English Friends*. Yet, farther on, the writer speaks of the *nineteen* friends, not fifteen, and proceeds to give their names. He gives fifteen names, and says that the other four are unknown. The fifteen names are those in the translator's footnote, page 433. Every German *Life of Goethe* speaks of nineteen friends, and Herr Professor Düntzer believes this number to be the correct one; he guesses that four contributors joined in the undertaking later than the fifteen others, and that Goethe had private knowledge of this fact through a letter from Carlyle. Mr. Froude's *Life of Carlyle* does not speak of the gift at all. Before I received Professor Düntzer's note on the subject, I had thought it probable that fifteen is the correct number. On pp. 255-257 of Goethe's correspondence with Zelter (vol. vi.) will be found a letter to Zelter from a London correspondent. This letter Zelter forwarded to Goethe. It contains an account of the gift to Goethe, "the gift of *nineteen* Englishmen and Scotchmen, each of whom subscribed two guineas." "Among these," proceeds the writer—and then he communicates fifteen names. The order in which he gives them is the order of K. W. Müller's book, the particulars about their literary work or relationship are those given by Müller, and some of the mistakes in spelling are the same in the letter and the book. I thought that this letter might have been the originator of a mistake which once adopted in *Chaos* would be confirmed and repeated. The article in *Fraser's Magazine*, November 1831, knows only of *fifteen* Englishmen. And the poem: "Worte die der Dichter spricht," is quoted by the writer in *Fraser* with the superscription: "Den *funfzehn* Englischen Freunden."

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